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Israel and The Ten Commandments:
*An Appeal to the Conscience
Based Upon The
Modern History of Palestine*

William H. Brownlee

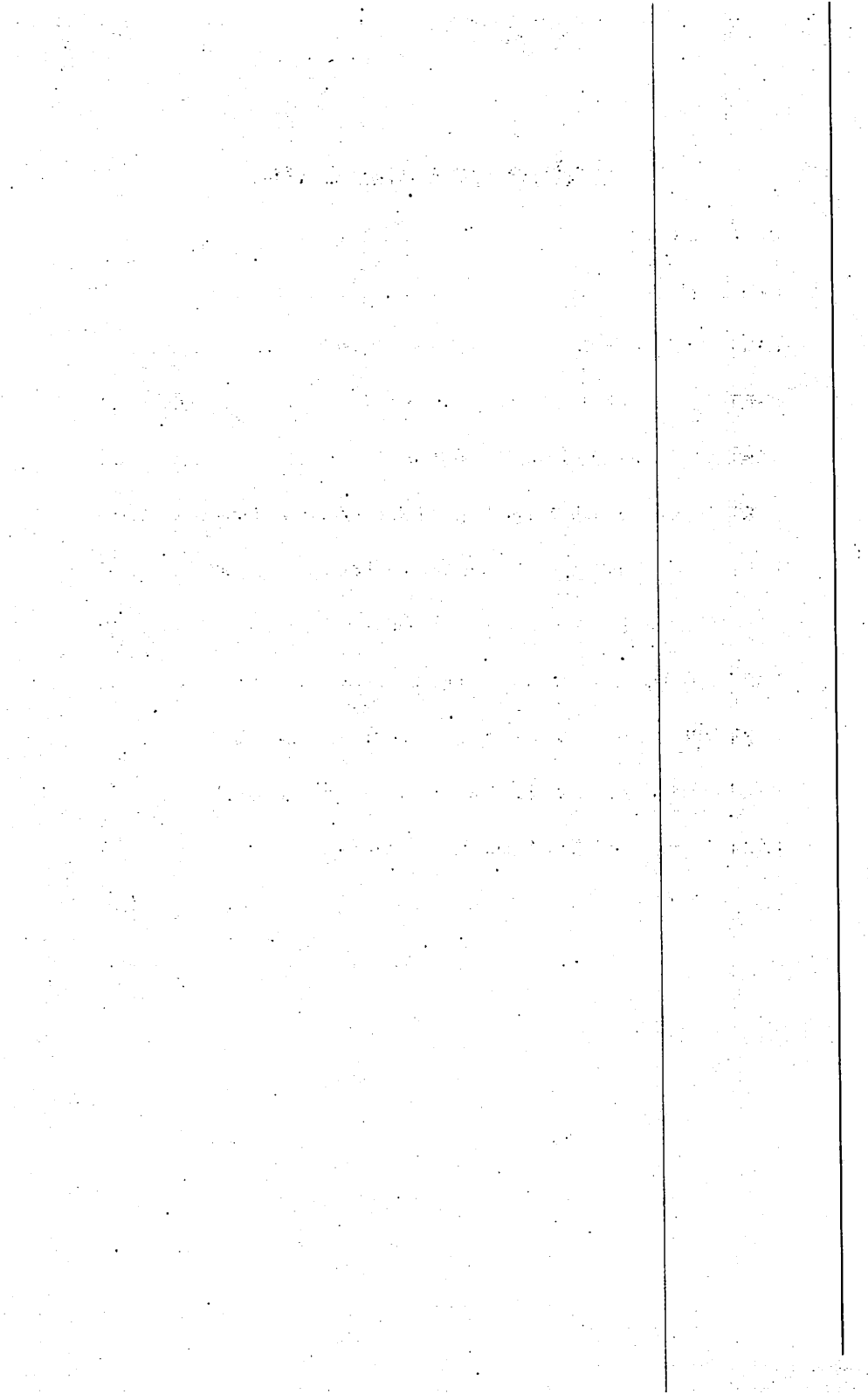
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IN MEMORIAM

Dr. William Hugh Brownlee had completed the text for this outpouring of his moral concerns over the Holy Land during the summer of 1970 and hoped to complete the footnoting of the book soon afterwards. Unfortunately the complications of his busy life of research, teaching and guiding many students toward the Ph.D. degree prevented his bringing the manuscript to the final form he had planned. Arrangements for the publication of the manuscript were finally completed early in 1983 through the generous efforts of a Claremont Graduate School student, Abdullah Naseer, who succeeded in raising the necessary funds to make it possible.

After his retirement in June, 1982, Dr. Brownlee set about to complete a series of booklets under the general title, "Moral Appeals Concerning Palestine," but he was struck down on July 16, 1983, by an infection which developed following a lung operation. The completion of *Israel and the Ten Commandments* was to have been his next project.

Now, two of the booklets have been published under the auspices of Americans for Middle East Understanding: "The Rights of the Palestinians" and "The Lion that Ravages Palestine," as memorials to Dr. Brownlee's life of devotion to Scripture study, research, teaching and preaching. He had hoped to revise and update *Israel and the Ten Commandments* from the events in the continuing struggle in the Middle East which made more poignant the message of moral concern his manuscript punctuated so effectively through early 1970. He wanted especially to document these chapters with evidence from the Lebanon crisis that seemed to him to be a climax of Israel's moral turpitude and violation of the Ten Commandments.

After reviewing the manuscript, some of us who were close to Dr. Brownlee and share the moral concerns he so poignantly preached and taught feel that the book should be published as soon as possible without concern for the updating he wished to do. Its message is so much needed for understanding the ever worsening situation in the Middle East, that we want to let Dr. Brownlee's sharp perceptions of the problem become available with a minimum of editing or delay. Wherever footnotes could be inserted according to what he obviously intended, therefore, we have done, using later references that might punctuate the evidence when

feasible. The editing has been kept to a minimum in order that the depth of Dr. Brownlee's concerns might be felt by the reader as he intended from his thirty-five years of intimate following of the events in Palestine. His extensive research in the Prophet Ezekiel throughout his career speaks forth with power throughout these pages, just as in his teaching and preaching. We are pleased to release this expression of Dr. Brownlee's ministry as a fitting memorial to a life that was infused with the Mosaic Law and the spirit of the ancient Prophets of Israel.

John C. Trever, Director
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School of Theology at Claremont
April, 1984

INTRODUCTION

The greatest contribution of Judaism to universal morality is no doubt the Ten Commandments, as these have greatly influenced not only the great monotheistic religions but civil law as well. If one grants a divine authority to this promulgation, as Jews and Christians do, then it would be a valid moral confrontation to examine the life of any nation by this standard, and certainly all nations would be found wanting, or only relatively good as regards certain of the Ten Commandments. Separation of Church and State, with resultant freedom of religion, means that in international morality today the Second Commandment (Exodus 20:3-6) is not considered,¹ even though the rabbi or minister may rightly preach the accountability of all before the one true God. An examination of Israel on this and the other commandments is unavoidable, however, in examining the Zionist claims that Judaism is both a religion and a nation—that nationhood is inseparable from Judaism as a religion. This means that the state of Israel must meet especially severe standards if it is to warrant a major place in the religion of Judaism. Thus all the Ten Words apply.

As a Biblical scholar and a student of the Holy Land I am a great admirer of the Jews for their spiritual and intellectual achievements, past and present; but I am grieved by modern materialism and militarism which today distort and obscure these great achievements of the Jews. Similarly, in my youth I denounced Nazi Germany for her oppression of both Jews and Christians, but at the same time I prayed for the German people. As this book is written, I pray not merely for Jews the world over, but especially for those in Israel, as I believe that the Lord Himself loves these people and seeks to lead them to repentance:

"As I live," is the oracle of the LORD,
"Is My pleasure in the death of the wicked?
Not rather in the return of the wicked?
Turn back, turn back from your evil ways;
For why will ye die, O house of Israel?"
(Ezekiel 33:11)

The same call to repentance must be addressed to every land and people, including the United States of America, whose moral and spiritual life is

also threatened by materialism and militarism (though not in the same way);² but the injustices in the Middle East are at present the greatest threat to world peace (so I believe) and demand the earnest efforts of all mankind, for peace—*true peace*—can only come through justice. Having myself lived and studied in the Holy Land at different periods since 1947, that land and all its peoples are especially dear to me; and I earnestly cherish peace for all of them.

PART I

THE TENTH WORD THOU SHALT NOT COVET

Since Zionism arose among the Diaspora as a movement seeking re-possession of Palestine in order to make of it a Jewish nation, the logical place to begin an examination is with the Tenth Word: "You shall not covet." Probably most supporters of Zionism at first intended no more than peaceful immigration,³ settling among the native Palestinians, and with mutual help seeking to establish a country which would be beneficial to all. In this way, at least, Zionist aims would not seem to run afoul too egregiously of the commandment "You shall not covet." Still the only just pursuit of such a goal would be with the consent of the majority of the indigenous population—otherwise one would be violating the principle of the self-determination of peoples.

The rights of the Arabs were recognized even in the Zionist oriented Balfour Declaration of Great Britain in 1917: "... it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."⁴ In 1921, Sir Winston Churchill, head of the Colonial Office, visited Palestine and issued the *Churchill White Paper*, whose second and third points have been summarized as follows:⁵

2. A Jewish national home will be founded in Palestine. The Jewish people will be in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. But His Majesty's Government have no such aim in view that Palestine should become as Jewish as England is English.

3. Nor do His Majesty's Government contemplate disappearance or subordination of the Arab population, language or culture.

Assurances of this kind made most Palestinian Arabs willing to live with the Balfour Declaration. After all, the Jews were such a tiny minority (only 11%) that even with considerable Jewish immigration, there would be no serious threat to Arab hegemony in the foreseeable future.

Arab Violence

Still, so many of the Zionist immigrants were speaking of making Palestine not simply a "national home" but also a Jewish nation, that many Arabs became alarmed. There were protests as early as 1920.⁶ These were climaxed by the riots of 1929, during which 133 Jews were killed and 339 wounded, and six Jewish colonies were destroyed.⁷ These riots were kindled by disturbances at the Western Wall of the ancient temple area in Jerusalem and spread to other cities, including the city of Hebron sacred to Muslim and Jew alike because of the tombs of the Patriarchs being there. Such murderous outbreaks seemed especially fanatical, since after all the Jews were still only about 16% of the population. Therefore, whatever the Zionist ambitions were, they should have been dismissed as wild dreams unlikely of realization. Given time, surely the Jews would see this themselves and give up such vaunting claims. The next decade, however, brought such heavy Jewish immigration that by 1940 the Jewish population had soared to thirty percent. The great increase was largely due to Hitler's persecutions. Yet the Arabs felt threatened; so in 1936-1939 they launched a guerrilla war against the British for the sake of achieving national independence, so that they might safeguard their rights through control of immigration.

During such struggles the Palestinian Arabs defended their actions by a parable. While Abu Ibrahim was riding his donkey, he was stopped by his friend Ben Moshe who said, "What a fine donkey you have, may I ride with you?" Graciously Abu Ibrahim consented to share the donkey with his friend.

After a while Ben Moshe said, "What a fine donkey we have! What a wonderful donkey we have!" Upon hearing this, Abu Ibrahim pushed his friend off the donkey. Ben Moshe was angry and snorted: "Why do you treat me so mean?"

Abu Ibrahim answered, "When you first saw the donkey, you said: 'What a fine donkey *you* have!' Now you say, 'What a fine donkey *we* have!' The next time you speak, it will be 'What a fine donkey *I* have,' and I am not going to let you stay on it that long!"

Zionists Proclaim Their Covetousness

That such Arab fears were realistic, history has proved. That Zionist aspirations allowed no equal status for the Arabs was no dark and sinister suspicion, but it was boldly asserted by J. Pereira Mendes, the first

president of the American Zionist organization, who wrote to the New York *Herald Tribune* (August 13, 1937):

But we demand all of it [Palestine]. We cannot, may not, and will not yield one inch of it. They may live in our own Palestine, but not with rights of *Yerusha* (Genesis xxi, 10-13). They may rent land and as *Gerim* enjoy all other rights and protection.

This letter's use of Hebrew terms helped to conceal its full meaning from Gentile readers; but it denied the Arabs the right to own land (*yerusha*) and even to citizenship, reducing them to the status of resident aliens (*gerim*) in a land where theirs had been the dominant culture for more than twelve centuries. In 1939, Dr. George Richer Berry (an American Old Testament professor) wrote:⁸

No great increase in Jewish land is possible without driving Arabs from the country, which would, of course, be altogether unjust. Palestine at the present time is rather densely populated. Its populations now numbers 1,300,000. Vermont, with approximately the same area, has a population of slightly over 350,000.

All this shows that a willingness to face the population and economic facts of Palestine in a moral way should have led Zionist leaders to exert their energies in finding a haven for the persecuted Jews of Europe elsewhere. It certainly would have been more righteous for America to admit these sorely oppressed people into her own land than for her to compel a tiny country ⁴⁵⁵ the size of Vermont to admit them. President Franklin D. Roosevelt at one time was exploring the possibility of a program through which England and the Americas would receive half a million of these people. He might well have been successful, except that American Zionists put pressure upon him to give up this plan, insisting that these people must go only to Palestine.⁹ On another occasion, our government was engaged in conversation with Zionist leaders of Palestine as to what peaceful solution might be possible, and they urged the deportation and resettlement of all Palestinian Arabs in Iraq.¹⁰

This fully demonstrates that the Zionists knew that the fulfillment of their goal of Jewish nationhood meant sooner or later the dispossession of the Arabs.

Arabs Have Rights

The Palestinian Arabs were not a backward or uncivilized people. They had less education on the average than the Jewish immigrants, but

they were not one whit behind the Oriental Jews. On the whole, they were the most progressive Arabs of the whole Middle East. Among them were men and women of all professions, including physicians, lawyers, teachers, engineers, and clergymen. Their merchants were both rich and poor and many belonged to a sturdy middle class. Their farmers ranged from the rich operators of large citrus plantations to simple peasants farming only one or two acres. They were industrious and avid for an education. Very few were to be classed as Bedouins—though even Bedouins have their rights!

The culture had been predominantly Arab for thirteen centuries, and yet one frequently met the irrational cry: "Why do these people not go back to the desert from which they came?" Actually the culture changed after the Muslim Conquest from Byzantine to Arab, without any displacement of population. Thus the rootage of the "Arabs" in Palestine was many centuries earlier. Palestine was a holy land to them as well, whether Muslim or Christian. The latter had been living in Palestine since the time of Christ. It was not simply that this was the fatherland of the Palestinians, but that it was also the land of their spiritual forebears from the Patriarchs to the Prophets, from Jesus to Muhammad. Even though Muhammad's teaching to the Muslim is more definitive than that of Jesus, still to them Jesus is the Messiah and Prince of Peace, through whose Second Coming the world is to be judged. Christians, representing one-eighth of the population, were allied with the Muslims in their devotion to the Holy Land and in their opposition to Zionism.

From every point of view, how could one possibly justify the dispossession of the Arabs? Pereira Mendes referred to Genesis 21:10-13; but was this valid? Does the promise to Abraham apply to the modern Jewish state? Go back and read the Torah again and you will discover that the Hebrews were given the land of Canaan, not simply because they were God's chosen people, but because the Canaanites were wicked and God was determined in this way to punish them (Leviticus 18:26-28; Deuteronomy 9:4-5; 18:12). Abraham was told that in his day the "iniquity of the Amorite is not yet full" and that therefore he would need to wait four hundred years before the land could be given to him and his seed (Genesis 15:13-16). To many moderns the conquest of Joshua, nevertheless, is accompanied with perplexing moral problems, which can only be excused in the light of the fact that this was a primitive period of Hebrew history, lacking the benefit of the revelation of later prophets.

How much more so should not the moral problems associated with the dispossession of the Arabs loom large? They were not and are not pagans. They are monotheists claiming to be both the physical and spiritual descendants of Abraham. Both their religions and their codes of morality are much higher than those of the Amorites, who were still not bad enough to be driven out in the time of Abraham. As has been said, however, anybody can prove anything from the Scriptures, and so Pereira Mendes referred to Genesis 21:10-13. Does this passage render invalid any appeal in the present situation to "You shall not covet?" If so, this commandment of ancient Hebrew origin anomalously applies to everyone except to Zionists.

PART II

THE SIXTH WORD

THOU SHALT NOT KILL

Covetousness leads to murder and so the Sixth Word, "You shall not murder," comes into play. We have already seen violent Arab reaction. The Arab revolt against Great Britain in 1936-39 was suppressed militarily and also allayed with the establishment of immigration quotas, designed to prevent a complete Jewish domination. These quotas were unacceptable to the Zionists, who soon launched their own rebellion against British rule in order to make of Palestine a Jewish state.

The violence was not now between Arabs and Jews, but between the Jews and the British, with underground Zionist armies perpetrating Viet-Cong-type atrocities. The largest single act was the blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem on July 1, 1946, with over two hundred casualties. When I arrived in Palestine in the late summer of 1947, anti-British violence was raging, with Zionist snipers shooting British soldiers and policemen, and with terrorists planting bombs in police stations. As summer became fall and the fall advanced, almost every night we heard bursts of machine gun fire from the Meah Shearim Quarter to the northwest of the Old City. Sometimes the firing would last only a few minutes, sometimes much longer. All this noise and its consequent fright to the people of Jerusalem came from the Zionist Haganah which was either practicing for war, seeking publicity, or trying to convince the British that they should withdraw. Probably all three were involved. The British often answered with their own gunfire; yet one seldom heard of anybody getting killed in these exchanges. Apparently it was largely a matter of show. Still all this added to the atmosphere of violence which hovered over Palestine at the time when the United Nations was debating the creating of a Jewish state. Fearing that the Zionists were getting all the publicity, some Arabs blew up the Polish embassy. A popular joke in Jerusalem was: "The Poles are so anti-Semitic they are pro-Zionist."¹¹

The Unjust Partition Plan

When on November 29, 1947, the United Nations' General Assembly authorized the creation of Israel through a plan partitioning the

country into Jewish and Arab states, it was already November 30 in Palestine and the news quickly engulfed the land in violence. The British were scheduled to be gone within a few months, so there was now no need to fight the British, but the Haganah and the Irgun would be free to turn their murderous assault against others. There was some spontaneous violence on the part of the Arabs which helped to ignite this inferno. That troubles of this kind would result from the creation of a Jewish state had been no deterrent to the drastic decision to partition the country. This plan called for assigning about 55% of the land, including the most fertile areas, to Israel's rule. The Jews were to get the coastal plain on the west, the Plain of Esdraelin and the western shore of the Sea of Galilee to the north. They were also assigned the largely desert Negeb, whose development had hardly begun.

The partition plan was also to establish an Arab state, but its territory was broken into four fragments which did not even touch each other—although the largest fragment was a bit larger than the later West Bank of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The purpose of this incongruous gerrymandering was the defining of some sort of contiguous area with a Jewish majority. Wonder of wonders, although the Jews were only one-third of the population, it was discovered in this crazy-quilt pattern there was a Jewish majority of 55% in 55% of the country. This was cheating a bit, however, since the thinly populated Negeb was predominantly Arab. That all this should be done without the consent of the majority of the population was an egregious violation of the right of self-determination of indigenous populations.

The Arab Higher Committee of Palestine foolishly refused to present its case before the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, which studied the situation on the spot in the summer of 1947. Far from finding their boycott eloquent, the majority of the committee voted to recommend partition. The recommendation was then presented to an *Ad Hoc* Committee of the United Nations which endorsed it. However, a representative of the Arab Higher Committee did appear before this deliberative body and present its case for the establishment of a democracy with equal political rights for all and with freedom of worship and access to the holy places for all religions. The Arab appeal, however, was too little too late to stop the Partition Plan, which after presentation before the United Nations General Assembly was adopted by a very slim margin.

What a pity the Arab proposal, which alone would accord with the

right of self-determination of peoples, was not the one presented to the United Nations! In such a democratic state, the Jews would not be able to dominate or dispossess the Arabs; yet their influence would be much greater than their numbers—in view of their western education and technological skills. Had they been willing to cooperate with the Arabs in building such a democracy, the result would have been very close to the ideal of a bi-national state advocated by such benign and moderate spiritual Zionists as President Judah Magnes and Professor Martin Buber of Hebrew University.¹²

Partition Leads to Murder

The first Arab violence following the United Nations resolution on Palestine was the spontaneous reaction of an outraged people, which involved scattered instances of angry individuals grabbing rifles and sniping at traffic on the highway. This only brought harm to their cause, and their action was promptly denounced by the Arab leaders who called upon the nation to keep calm. These same leaders called for a nationwide strike in peaceful protest which was very largely successful; for the overwhelming majority of the Arabs wanted a peaceful solution. For a few days the situation seemed to be cooling, and all were hopeful that the worst of the troubles were over.

However, such Jewish terrorist groups as the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the supposedly respectable Haganah "police" refused to let things cool; instead they responded with manifold vengeance. Thus after some Arab children threw rocks at a Jewish truck which passed through their town, it returned the next day and threw out a bomb in a crowd of people. Although some Zionists said that such acts were necessary to teach the Arabs how futile it would be to resist the creation of Israel, their actual effect (and probable intention) was to "snowball" the violence in such a way that the ensuing full scale guerrilla war could be utilized for territorial aggrandizement. Certainly killing in self-defense should be excluded from the command "You shall not murder"; but does this exclude Viet-Cong types of attack upon peaceful men, women, and children in deliberately executed massacres like those carried out by Zionists already in December, 1947?

Even the Haganah, under the watchword of "Defense through Attack," was often the aggressor as early as December, 1947. The Arab leaders had tried hard to persuade everybody, including the Jews and the

British, that the Old City should be neutral territory, not used by anybody as fighting ground. In fact, a truce agreement had been reached between the leaders of the Arabs and Jews in the Old City to this effect; but the Haganah came in from the outside, nevertheless, and erected sandbag barricades around the balconies of the Tiferet Yisrael and Khurva Synagogues for "defense."¹³

Hearing of the truce, Dr. Sherman Johnson, then serving as Annual Professor of the American School, took his students on a specially conducted tour of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on December 23. We had completed our visit and were ready to leave, when machine guns manned by the Haganah began whistling about the church so that we dared not go out into the streets until nightfall. The answering guns were not Arab, but those of the British, who undertook to restore order. As a result of this penetration of the Haganah, the synagogues were used as sniping posts in Jerusalem; and in the resulting struggle both the synagogues and the Muslim Dome of the Rock suffered considerable damage.

A terrorist attack which I witnessed myself was a massacre by the Zionist Irgun Zvai Leumi at Damascus Gate the last Monday of December, 1947. That morning the British staged a military parade which included the area between Damascus and Jaffa Gates. The Scots were blowing their bagpipes, dressed in their kilts. This brought a feeling of security and happiness which helped to lift for the moment the pall of foreboding which hovered over the city. No sooner had the parade passed, than a large automobile containing very nationalistic "Arabs" came in behind it, headed in the opposite direction, and passed down the street before local security checks could be put in place. I was watching when the men wearing tarbooshes and long robes came by. In fact they paused momentarily in front of me and I could see the men adjust their garments in order to better conceal their weapons. As I proceeded, I first heard shots and then I saw the withering rifle and machine gun fire directed at a crowd of men, women and children at Damascus Gate. The *Palestine Post*, December 30, 1947, listed the casualties as fifteen murdered and fifty wounded. How many in the latter group eventually died of the wounds I do not know.

A similar incident occurred on the Greek Christmas, January 6, at Jaffa Gate, in which terrorists disguised as police and riding in a stolen police car shot up the Greek Orthodox Christmas parade led by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The effect of this act was to unite Christians and

Muslims more strongly than ever in total opposition to the creation of Israel. The result is such an obvious one, that it must have been intended.

I described the events and mood of the day in a letter to President Truman on January 23, 1948, as follows:

The Arabs of Palestine (both Muslims and Christians) are unable to see the justice of the UNO decision to partition their country. They maintain as did Thomas Jefferson that "All just government is derived from the consent of the governed." I have found none who object to the present number of Jews in Palestine (about one quarter [should have been about one third] of the population), or to their retention of their present possessions (amounting to most of the good farm land of the country), but they object to giving the Jews a state. They live in constant fear of Zionism. They regard it as an octopus which, unless mortally wounded, will slowly and surely take control of the whole country. Even broad-minded and devout Christians among the Arabs will tell you with tears in their eyes that their only alternative to national abasement and dispossession is to fight to the last man against the Zionists. They distinguish between Jews and Zionists.

The Jews of Palestine (with notable exceptions) fail to understand the fears and griefs of the Arabs. Too often they flaunt their nationalistic aspirations. Some openly boast that given five or ten years the Jews will control all of Palestine and Trans-Jordania. Some intimate that they would like to wrest control of the Harem esh-Sharif (including the Dome of the Rock and the Asqa Mosque) and to restore their temple there. All these threats, both blatant and tacit, together with treacherous and brutal deeds on the part of the Haganah and the Irgun Zvai Leumi, have completely alienated the Arabs toward the Jews. The result of the situation is interminable bloodshed. In my observation most of the aggressive action has been on the part of the Jews; but neither side is above reproach.

Violence continued to mount from both sides, ever increasingly as the size of the British army dwindled through withdrawals. Having gone to Palestine with a pro-Zionist bias, perhaps I am to be trusted for my general impression (shared by most independent observers) that more violence came from the Jewish than from the Arab side. This was partly due to the fact that the Arabs had no underground armies, very few arms, and had not stored up arms illegally in any plan of war; for they did not have their Teddy Kollects in the arms smuggling business.¹⁴ Prior to partition I saw many Arab boys and men, who tried to keep a twenty-four hour watch over their homes, standing behind courtyard fences with only

knives and rocks for self-defense. All this emphasizes that these people were so weak that it is not at all surprising that, with the Irgun and the Haganah taking the initiative, the casualties were often two or three Arabs for every Jew. An official estimate of the number killed, given by a British radio broadcast near the end of December, 1947, listed the fatalities for Arabs and Jews from fifteen cities. Not only were there 757 Arabs killed as compared with 372 Jews; but there were 308 Arabs killed in ten cities where not a single Jew was reported as killed.¹⁵ The fact that these were wholly, or mainly, Arab in population emphasizes that the initiative was mainly Zionist. It is possible that some of the Arabs, as was also true of the Jews, were away from home when they were killed, but statistically were accredited to their own town. This, however, by no means alters the overall pattern of events.

The most infamous of the atrocities was that of Deir Yassin, the night of April 9–10. The Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang attacked this village, which had been friendly toward the Jews, in a gruesome face-to-face butchering of men, women and children.¹⁶ Mrs. Bertha S. Vester of the American Colony at Jerusalem describes the aftermath:¹⁷

A repetition of the taking of Jericho by Joshua, it wrought the same result, and a reign of terror swept the country. Loudspeakers mounted on jeeps or armoured cars paraded the Arab sections of Western Jerusalem warning the inhabitants that if they did not leave, the Deir Yaseen treatment would be their fate. Many Moslems and Christians fled for their lives. In my Children's Hospital I took in fifty babies under two years old from the village of Deir Yaseen.

While I was registering these babies and listening to the horrible recital by the women of what they had been through, a small boy about six years old stood by me. Seeing that I was not an Arab, he gave one shriek and said: "Is she one of them?" and fainted. I ran to get water to revive the child, but when I returned with the water, I found that he was dead.

The large scale flight of Arabs following the Deir Yassin massacre is described by Menachem Begin, commander of the Irgun:¹⁸

Panic overwhelmed the Arabs of Eretz Israel. In the rest of the country Arabs began to flee in terror, even before they clashed with Jewish forces Meanwhile Haganah was carrying out successful attacks on other fronts. All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter. The Arabs began to flee in panic shouting: "Deir Yassin!"

Murders Continue After The Armistice

The fighting did not stop with the eventual armistice, after which the remaining Arab territory of Palestine was merged with Trans-Jordan in order to form the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. From December, 1949, to January, 1952, there were a total of 634 incidents in which Israelis attacked Jordan, sometimes as guerrillas unsponsored by Israel.¹⁹ In thirty of these incidents it was a matter of military armor crossing the border in direct violation of the Armistice Agreement. The result of such attacks was a total of 122 men, women, and children killed (mostly civilians), 103 wounded (of whom 85 were civilians), and 73 abducted (all civilians). All these were inside Jordan when attacked. During the same Post-War period a total of 14,983 Arabs were expelled from inside Israel.

There were few attacks by the Arab armies, and almost never on a large scale. One series of incidents concerned the new Israeli settlement of Mevaseret Yerushalayim and the Jordanian village of Sheikh Abd el-Aziz, during July, 1956. The United Nations observers were unable to determine in this case which side was more to blame. When later, Lieutenant-General E.L.M. Burns was discussing the events with Mrs. Meir, she asked "why the Arabs kept attacking Israelis."

Concerning this General Burns relates:²⁰

I said that in this case it seemed to me likely that some of the dispossessed Arab villagers from the area, who may have been among the Jordanian national guards in the Sheikh Abd el Aziz hamlet, had become infuriated at seeing the new Jewish immigrants from South Africa beginning the cultivation of the lands that had formerly been theirs. Mrs. Meir was very indignant at my introducing the refugee question into the discussion. I replied that she had asked me a question, and I had answered. It seemed to me to be symptomatic of certain blindness to the human reactions of others that so many Israelis professed not to understand why the Arabs who had been driven from their lands should continue to hate and try to injure those who had driven them out.

It was Israeli violation of the Armistice which led to the later mounting troubles with Syria. Some four thousand Arabs, who had been granted the right to live in small rural villages west of the Jordan River, north of the Sea of Galilee, were driven out by the Israelis, who replaced these villages with their own *kibbutsim*.²¹ Despite repeated resolutions

from the United Nations that these people should be restored to their land, Israel refused to cooperate. The result of her noncompliance was that infiltrators from among the refugees attacked across from Syria into Israel. Supported by Syrian guns from the Golan Heights, these guerrilla raids were used as excuses by Israel for full scale army attacks into Syria and Jordan. Naturally, the Arabs were playing into the Israeli hands in resisting—this being true of the entire gruesome tale—but none of this exempts Israel from the charge of murder in her Cain-and-Lamech type of vengeance.²² The United Nations condemned Israel some thirty times prior to the Six Day War, whereas a majority voted against the Arabs only five times, with a Soviet veto saving the Arabs from condemnation.

Murder in the Six-Day War

The June War of 1967 was unnecessary, with Israel launching her Blitz while Egyptian representatives, as announced in Cairo, were seeking a peaceful solution.²³ They had already begun their consultations in Rome and were to visit other European capitals before their early arrival in Washington. According to a report I heard in Jordan, certain Egyptian generals held a big social party the night before Israel attacked. They called off the constant vigilance at the airports of keeping numerous planes in the air at all times. The officers responsible for this relaxation were charged with treason. If this report is true, the explanation may be other than treason—the belief that the Egyptian peace mission would be successful. Israeli intelligence may have taken advantage of this relaxation, or perhaps it was only accident that their planned attack coincided so well. In any case no serious student of the war really doubts that Israel began the war, although most agree that Egypt's threatened closure of the Gulf of Aqaba was provocative.²⁴

Despite disclaimers from Israel, the most likely explanation of the Israeli attack upon the American Ship Liberty was Israel's desire to prevent the United States from getting the full evidence through the ship's communications system that Israel began the war.²⁵ Israeli espionage agents had blown up American libraries and Information Agency offices along with other American owned buildings in Cairo and Alexandria in November, 1954, in an effort to create alienation between the United States and Egypt.²⁶ The shelling of the Liberty Ship was just one more case of Israeli ruthlessness. Since the President of the United States had proclaimed guarantees for the security of the boundaries of all parties

in the Middle East crisis, Israel wanted to take no chances on adverse criticism from America.²⁷ As a result, she murdered 34 Americans and wounded 75 others.

The Six-Day War, because short, had relatively few casualties for such a great undertaking—even so, there was much unnecessary slaughter; for after the United Nations had called for a cease-fire and Jordan had indicated her willingness to comply, Israel insisted upon waiting until the other Arab nations accepted the cease-fire. This meant that she went on killing both soldiers and civilians until she had reached the Jordan River, the limit of her present intents of conquest. After the Jordanian army had fled and the Arabs had hung up their white flags of submission upon their stores and homes, Israeli tanks came through the streets shelling them. No troops were in Jericho when the Israeli planes bombed some of the refugee houses with napalm. One man from Jericho, however, told me that when the Israeli scout planes swooped low over Jericho, a few civilians could not resist the temptation of sniping at them with rifles. The Israelis then returned quickly with their bombs, which sent so many people of Jericho across the River Jordan.²⁸

Viewed as a whole, the belligerent history of Israel, beginning with their War of Emancipation, has consisted of more unprovoked than provoked violence, and of more vengeful killings than killings in self-defense. All of this is murder, unless the Sixth Word does not apply to the modern conquest of Palestine by Israel.

PART III

THE EIGHTH WORD

THOU SHALT NOT STEAL

The murderous outrages noted in "Part II" were not simply the result of uninhibited passion, although in some cases this may have been true, but taken as a whole they were part of a carefully designed and executed plot for the dispossession of the Arabs.²⁹ In this way houses and lands would become accessible to Israel without cost. That being so, the Eighth Word, "You shall not steal," comes into play. The fact that hundreds of thousands of Arabs had been driven out of Israel even before the state came officially into being is generally presented as an unintentional outcome of troubles which the Arabs brought upon themselves. James G. McDonald describes Israeli indifference to the Palestinian refugees as follows:³⁰

I doubt that during the first hectic year of Israel the top officials ever took the time to concentrate on the refugee problem. I had the distinct impression that this was being left primarily to the technicians. No one of the big three—Weizmann, Ben-Gurion or Sharett—seemed to have thought through the implications of the tragedy or of Israel's lack of concrete helpfulness. Certainly, they had been quite unprepared for the Arab exodus; no responsible Zionist leader had anticipated such a "miraculous" clearing of the land. Dr. Weizmann, despite his ingrained rationalism, spoke to me emotionally of this "miraculous simplification of Israel's tasks," and cited the vaster tragedy of six million Jews murdered during World War II.

For several months before the creation of Israel, before McDonald went there as the United States' Ambassador, I had the opportunity of noting the deliberate creation of Arab refugees in Jerusalem.

The Stealing Of Jerusalem

Though according to the partition scheme, Jerusalem was not to be either Arab or Israeli, but to be internationalized, the Zionists had no intention of letting Jerusalem be internationalized; but they determined to seize the city for themselves, in order to put their capital there. The

capital of the Jewish state was according to the plan of partition to be Tel Aviv on the coast. The Zionist claim to Jerusalem was proclaimed to the world by putting a large neon Star of David on the Hadessah Hospital on Mt. Scopus following the United Nations Resolution calling for the creation of Israel. This high spot to the northeast of Jerusalem dominated most of the city, and so it symbolically placed the city under Israeli domination. The Arabs of Jerusalem were offended and outraged as they saw the brilliant light of this new star. Some non-Arabs and moderate Jews saw the folly of this and protested, so after two or three days the star came down. It is amazing that no Arabs tried to shoot it down. The fact they did not is due to the great respect they had for the Hadasseh Hospital which treated Arabs and Jews alike.

The last Sunday of December, 1947, many Arabs living in mixed areas of Jerusalem found tacked to their doors upon their awakening a notice: "move out within 24 hours or be shot." On the notices were ominous black dots, as many dots as there were members of the family. I knew three of these families personally. One was a pair of spinster school teachers. Their deceased father had been an Anglican minister who left a large theological library. The two sisters worked hard that Sunday to get everything packed in boxes, including the library; but there was not time to get the library moved out. They got a British soldier to move them in a lorry (or truck). He moved all their possessions, except the library; which he promised to help them move the next day. Tomorrow never came, however, as the soldier kept procrastinating and finally admitted that he was afraid for his own life to go back there.

Another family was a widow with several small children, whom Millar Burrows helped move to the American School of Oriental Research basement.³¹ She was a Christian and a faithful employee of the school. Another case was of a policeman's son who was heartbroken over having to move away from his Jewish girl friend. In Haifa an Arab physician and his family returned home from church that same Sunday to find all their furniture in the yard with armed members of the Haganah standing there, saying: "Pick up these and move on."

Many others were involved than those I knew personally. In fact, a pro-Zionist book by I.F. Stone, though ill-informed on some matters, may perhaps be correct by the number of Palestinian refugees by the end of January, 1948:³²

First the wealthiest families went; it was estimated that 20,000 of them left the country in the first two months of internal hostilities. By the

end of January, the exodus was already so alarming that the Palestine Arab Higher Committee in alarm asked neighboring Arab countries to refuse visas to these refugees and to seal the borders against them. While the Arab guerrillas were moving in, the Arab civilian population was moving out.

None of the Arab evacuees whom I knew were rich; and they did not cross the border into other Arab lands, but they simply moved from one section of Jerusalem to another. A similar situation existed elsewhere in Palestine.

It is natural that the wealthy would seek more secure temporary residence outside the country. In the last sentence quoted above, the facts are turned around. Rather, one should state: "As the Arab civilian population was forced out, Syrian volunteers moved in to help protect Arab property and lives." At first they did not operate as guerrillas (and most of them never did), but they stood guard at specified points. They were just beginning to arrive in small numbers in January, 1948. They never were of sufficient strength to offer more than moderate resistance, and most who came were raw recruits without any military training at all. Many villages never saw any of these volunteers. Such was the case, for example, of Deir Yassin whose population was massacred in an unprovoked attack on the night of April 9-10. As a result of that and other massacres, Arabs had fled their homes by the thousands by the time Israel proclaimed its independence on May 14, 1948.

Houses Stolen for Refugees

I made it a point to ask those whom I knew to be involved in the December expulsions, "Did they tell you *why* you had to move?" Since these were peaceful people, I wanted to know whether this was indiscriminate revenge for certain Arab crimes or what the purpose might be. The people asked to move in Jerusalem had a chance to talk to members of the Haganah who came back during the day to see how they were proceeding with their packing. The ousted themselves had asked the question, "Why?" In every case they were told either, "We need your house for our people," or "We need your house for refugees." The refugees referred to were illegal immigrants (in excess of immigration quotas) who were pouring into the country in great numbers. The man from Haifa, whom I did not meet until the summer of 1953, was given the same answer when he had tried to argue with the Haganah about the ouster. In

early February the British-owned Newman School of Missions in Jerusalem, along with Arab residents in that vicinity, were ordered by the Haganah to vacate. I asked the people in charge of the school (where I was getting some Arabic tutoring), "Did they tell you *why*?" Again the answer was, "We need your buildings for our people."

Actually, if Israel were to take care of large numbers of immigrants, including half a million expected to arrive from Europe after the state became a reality, both houses and lands would be needed in great quantity, and fast. One feels great sympathy for these victims of Nazi persecution, but the Zionists as well as all the nations of the world had the responsibility of finding homes for these people without contravening the rights of others.

Rights of Refugees Spurned

The first United Nations mediator to Palestine was Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden who worked assiduously at his task in the Middle East from the latter part of May, 1948 until his assassination in Jerusalem the following September 17. In his posthumous book, he tells of all the difficulties of negotiation afforded by both sides and of his deep humanitarian concern for the plight of the Palestinian refugees. He believed that if the Israelis would reinstate these destitute and suffering people, it would contribute greatly to the negotiation of a peaceful solution. In a conversation with the Foreign Minister of Israel, Moshe Shertok, in Tel Aviv, July 26, he pressed the matter of allowing the refugees to return to their homes, but he received an emphatically negative reply. He summarizes his response as follows:³³

I observed that I was surprised that the representatives of the Jewish people in particular should look at this problem from such a narrow point of view, that they should regard it purely as a political question without taking into account the humanitarian side of the matter.

In a later interview, in Jerusalem, he stated his views very frankly. Part of his remonstrance to Shertok is as follows:³⁴

I could not understand—I went on—why the Jewish Government should adopt an attitude of such arrogance and hostility towards the United Nations representatives. In the first place it must surely realize that there could be no longer be any doubt as to the continued existence of the Jewish State in Palestine. In the second, it must also recognize that what mattered most for the Jews was to increase their good-will in the world at large, and that they ought to set themselves

forthwith to counteract the prevailing hatred between Arabs and Jews—whatever happened, the Jews must always reckon to have Arabs for their neighbours. To take one example: the Israeli Government had had a very great opportunity in connection with the Arab refugee question. It has missed that opportunity. It had shown nothing but hardness and obduracy towards these refugees. If instead of that it had shown a magnanimous spirit, if it had declared that the Jewish people, which itself had suffered so much, understood the feelings of the refugees and did not wish to treat them in the same way as it had itself been treated, its prestige in the world at large would have been immeasurably increased.

Shertok's reply relating to the Arabs is summarized as follows:³⁵

He perfectly realized that the Jews would have to co-operate with their neighbours in the future, Shertok said. But if they were to adopt a conciliatory tone now, that would be regarded as a sign of weakness.

Hostility toward this great humanitarian mediator ended in his cold-blooded murder. It was his very concern for justice and humanity which made him a victim of hate.

As early as December, 1948, the United Nations made a resolution on "The Palestine Question" which³⁶

Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbours be permitted to do so at the earliest predictable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the governments or authorities responsible.

This resolution (no. 194) has been reaffirmed annually, but to no avail. However, in 1949, Israel did offer to work out an overall package agreement including the return of only 100,000 refugees out of a total of more than 750,000.³⁷ She offered to make only nominal restitution to the rest in exchange for a peace treaty with all the surrounding Arab states. Israel must have known that all this was too little to offer and that the Arabs would never accept it. Her duty was not to these Arab states, anyway, but to the Palestinians themselves, whose existence as a people the Israelis have been as steadfast in refusing to acknowledge as the Arab nations have been in refusing to give diplomatic recognition to Israel.³⁸

One realizes that Israel was financially dependent upon World Jewry and foreign aid, so that she could not afford to pay much for the Arab

property. This was all the more reason for giving it back; for to take more than you can pay for is also a form of stealing. Still, if Israel had confessed before the world her financial inability and had offered to pay on the installment plan over a period of years a fair price for the property, this would have been cheaper than an enormous outlay in armaments for interminable years. Actually the Arab property, involving most of the lands and houses in Israel, was sold and also rented by the government of Israel to Jewish immigrants who would be making monthly payments for years. Thus the installment method was a real possibility for reimbursing the legitimate owners—providing the Arabs were willing to sell. Most of the Arabs, I believe, preferred to “return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbors,” but they were never permitted to prove this.

Confiscations after the June War

In June, 1967, as soon as Israel had full control of the Old City, she dynamited and bulldozed 135 houses of the Muslim Magharba Quarter in front of the “Wailing Wall,” rendering about 650 people homeless.³⁹ A few days later they destroyed a modern plastics factory nearby, rendering 200 Arab workmen jobless. During the second week of occupation, about 650 more houses were blown up, rendering some 3,000 more people homeless. Most of these were in the Jewish Quarter where about 80% of the houses were Arab owned and had under the British Mandate been rented by the Jews from their Arab landlords.

All over the West Bank of Jordan deserted houses and lands had been confiscated by Israel without remuneration. Refusing to recognize a moral obligation to the individuals involved, she claims that this is a political matter which must await a peace settlement. At Jericho, where an original population of about 78,000 (including refugees) was reduced to 2,000, first of all the Israeli soldiers kept vacated gardens and orchards alive by irrigating them themselves. Then in order not to provoke immediately too much wrath in world opinion by settling in too quickly, she decided to rent these to other Arabs of the West Bank. Consequently, the population of Jericho had risen, according to my Jericho informant, to about 4,000. None of the rentals collected go to the original owners; nor are the funds held in trust for them. Some fear that it is only a matter of time until Israel will gradually substitute Jewish tenants for Arab tenants.⁴⁰

Another ground for confiscation is absentee ownership. Thus a man living in Amman was building a large apartment house north of Jerusalem

which was nearly completed. He had a brother living in Jerusalem who was overseeing the job. This property had been seized by Israel, which finished the apartment building and promptly moved Jewish tenants into it. I have seen this place, having been told about it by an Arab neighbor.⁴¹

Deliberate Expulsions in 1967

It is important to note that Israel did not delay her avaricious designs at all following the Six Day War, although before the world she insists that she was fighting only for peace. The following stories of authentic experiences which I learned from the persons involved prove that the Israeli army was intentionally trying to reduce the Arab population of the West Bank so that Israel could lay claim to their vacated property.

The first of these stories concerns a friend of mine in Jerusalem who was a refugee for two weeks in Amman. Within a few days, his family began to weep for home. In desperation, he personally crossed the Jordan River at an unguarded point during the wee hours of the morning and made his way to Jericho where he joined others who hired taxis to take them to Jerusalem. At the west edge of Bethany they were stopped by soldiers who said: "Out, you bad Arabs! Out, you cursed Arabs—with your hands in the air." After they stepped out, they were asked: "Where have you come from?"

My friend replied: "From Jericho."

The soldiers said: "All right, those of you from Jericho stand here. Did any of you come from Amman?" Three confessed they had come from Amman. These were told "Stand over there." It was then explained to them: "Those of you who fled to Jericho have no right to live in Jerusalem any more. You must return to Jericho. Those of you who fled to Amman have no right to live in Israel, you must report to the police station in Jerusalem." Those who confessed to having come from Amman were frightened and started to run, but they were immediately cut down by machine guns. Amazingly, my friend did soon thereafter succeed in smuggling both himself and his family back to Jerusalem—where if his identity ever becomes known, he may be exiled as an illegal immigrant and his property confiscated.

Muhammad Adawi, a cook of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, had a wife and twin baby girls in his home in Bethany. His mother and sister were staying with them also. News of the fall of the Old City was brought by fugitives, one of whom was a weeping woman with blood on her dress. She said that her seventeen-year-old son

(who had been fighting the Israelis from their home) was killed; and that though she wanted to stay and care for the body, the Israeli soldiers had ordered her to vacate her house at once, saying: "Go away and leave him." For safety's sake, Muhammad and his family decided to flee to Jericho, hoping that the Israeli army might never reach that far; or, if it did, the Israeli fury might be somewhat abated by then.

Six days later, Muhammad left his family in Jericho and decided to walk back to Jerusalem with over a hundred men, women and children who were returning to the Holy City. He was going to see about starting work again at the American School. Hot and thirsty, they reached only a short distance beyond the Good Samaritan Inn (about halfway to Jerusalem in the Judean Desert), when they were accosted by Israeli soldiers who said: "You need not walk, we will provide transportation."

The weary crowd heaved a sigh of relief: "The Israelis want to show us that they can be kind. Let us rest in the shade of this cliff." Within half an hour, trucks arrived and loaded up the people and hauled them, not to Jerusalem, but to Allenby Bridge on the Jordan River!

There they were told to "Cross over Jordan."

Hearing this, I said to Muhammad, "Did you not try to tell them that your family was in Jericho?"

He replied, "Yes, and others were in a similar situation, but the answer of the soldiers was to start shooting over our heads."

Muhammad crossed and went to Amman. He was afraid to try to sneak back across the Jordan, lest (like many others) he be shot in the attempt. Some weeks later, however, he was able to get news to his family through another man. His family was at first disinclined to believe the report, thinking that Muhammad must have found work once more in Jerusalem and simply been too busy to come for them. Finally, they decided the report was true; and so they went to Amman where the family was reunited.

I do not know whether Muhammad applied for the opportunity to return to the West Bank in August, 1967; for I did not think to ask him. Since he is a young man, however, he would not normally have been eligible for consideration, for the Israelis discriminated against men of "military age." Preference was also given to divided families in the screening of applicants, and his family was no longer divided! In the forced exile of the father, the Israelis had succeeded also in exiling the whole family. An American who works full time with refugees on the East Bank told me that there is nothing unusual in Muhammad's expe-

rience in being hauled down to the Jordan River against his will. This was in any case more humane, more efficient, than the 1948 practice of pursuing people with guns, or keeping them under such armed surveillance that, fearing to be seen out of their houses in the daytime, some of them crawled upon their hands and knees during the night in order to make it to safety.

For several days after the Six Day War, buses were parked at the Old City of Jerusalem offering people free rides to Allenby Bridge. With no place else to go, most of those rendered homeless in the Old City accepted these rides to a life in refugee camps over the Jordan.

Hardships of the Dispossessed

The hardships of the refugees were not to be minimized; but aid from various sources (though inadequate) has softened their harsh circumstances a bit. There are the meager doles from the United Nations of 1500 calories per day, also public schools and technical training provided by UNRWA. Arab governments and Christian churches also have contributed variously to physical, medical and educational needs. In a visit to the East Bank, I discovered in 1968 that over two-thirds of the recent refugees were housed in the homes of friends and relatives who had opened up in order to add another family to their household. Something over 70,000 were then in refugee tents, with the Jordanian government seeking to provide more substantial (though meager) housing in the near future. Iran had put up some really nice quarters at one camp which was soon to be completed. Despite such measures, the deprivations of the refugees are great and the people feel humiliated and degraded not to be able to return to their homes and their jobs. Being robbed of one's livelihood is to be robbed of meaningful living, even if one does not starve to death. Consequently one can appreciate the words of Yeshua ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus 34:21f.):

The bread of the needy is the life of the poor;
whoever deprives them of it is a man of blood.
To take away a neighbor's living is to murder him;
to deprive an employee of his wages is to shed blood.

Thus, according to ben Sira, deprivation of life's necessities violates the Sixth as well as the Eighth Word of the Decalogue. Is not the recognition of this principle also behind the Torah when Deuteronomy 24:6 declares: "No man shall take a mill or an upper millstone in pledge"?

In my opinion, the intention of all this pressure which produced refugees was not merely to seize property, but to reduce the Arab population; for by her conquests Israel gained territory containing a million and a half Arabs, as compared with her Jewish population of about two and a half million. Through their greater fecundity, the Arabs would soon outnumber the Jews in "Greater Israel." It was for this reason that Israel allowed only the very young and the very old to return from the East Bank in August, 1967. It is this also which has made "refugees" of nearly all men and women away in college at the time of the Six Day War, for these people were not allowed to return home either.⁴² Unless they were to settle in the East Bank which was already crowded with refugees, overnight they were a people without a country. Militarily their exclusion does not make sense; for outside the country they can either join the Jordanian army or the growing ranks of the commandos. Al-Fateh ("the Opening" to freedom) boasts a large contingent of university students and graduates. Inside "Greater Israel" (despite the difficulties of finding employment) they would be less embittered, have no opportunity for military training, and have no ready access to weapons. Thus the disqualification of persons of "military age" from returning only makes sense as an exclusion of persons of *reproductive age*.⁴³

A Country has been Stolen

Even the people left behind in Palestine, living under Israeli occupation where there are no Arabic newspapers and where they must carry work permits and travel permits printed and filled out in Hebrew, have suddenly discovered that they have lost their country culturally as well as politically. They have become aliens, though living in the community of their birth! In the summer of 1968, a fourteen-year-old boy of Jerusalem said to me, "Today is one of the happiest days of my life."

"Why, what happened?" I asked.

"I saw a Jew," he replied, "laying a wreath at a memorial to the Arab dead of the Six Day War. I went to him and said: 'You have stolen our country and yet you lay a wreath here—why?' The man answered me: 'Your country has indeed been stolen, my son; but you will get it back.'"

The wresting of house and country from the Arabs is surely nothing but armed robbery on a national scale. Yet there are those who would justify this after the analogy of Joshua's conquest and Deuteronomy 6:10f. Many Israelis try to ease their conscience on this matter by saying that this

is a political, rather than an ethical matter, and that when the Arab nations are willing to sit down and sign a peace treaty the question of compensation can be negotiated. United Nations Resolution 194 says nothing about any of these Arab nations. Its appeal is simply to the human rights of the dispossessed Palestinians. Failure to act by Israel has sometimes been justified on the grounds of security, despite the pledge of those returning "to live at peace with their neighbors." So also was the oppression of the Hebrews in ancient Egypt justified (Exodus 1:10). In the same way, likewise, the Nazis justified their barbaric treatment of the Jews. Still, if security were the only consideration, Israel would be much closer to reconciliation with her Arab neighbors by fulfilling her moral obligations to the Palestinians. In fact, after the Armistice of 1949, the Arab nations were prepared to recognize the state of Israel, provided she allowed the refugees to return and withdrew inside the boundaries assigned by the United Nations in 1947.⁴⁴

Is Looting Robbery?

Another matter in connection with "You shall not steal" is looting. In June, 1967, many Arab shops were robbed of their stocks and many homes were looted, most severely and most destructively where the residents were not home. One family that was home discovered that Israeli soldiers could be talked out of some of their takings. Thus when a soldier picked up a transistor radio set, the young lady of the house grabbed onto it, saying: "You can't take that, for it is the only way we have of getting the news." The soldier relaxed his grip and let her have it back. Looting has the approval of the Pentateuch, and thus it might seem to be exempt from the command, "You shall not steal." However, most Jews (including also Israelis) have advanced morally beyond that primitive age. Thus when an Arab home was commandeered temporarily for an Israeli emergency hospital, the Jewish doctor who was placed in charge said to the owner, "Give me a key and I'll try to see that your things are safe; but if you have any valuables take them with you, for these people are only a bunch of thieves."

PART IV

THE SEVENTH WORD

THOU SHALT NOT COMMIT ADULTERY

Associated with looting in war is oftentimes rape. The Law of Moses by its code of war apparently sought to curb this practice by forbidding cohabitation with a female captive until she had resided in one's house for a full month (Deuteronomy 21:10-14). Among the various cases of abduction by Israelis of Arab civilians is one of rape in the Qataman incident of November 2, 1950.⁴⁵ In the 1967 war, however, the Arabs with whom I have talked knew of no instances of rape. Therefore, it would seem that the Seventh Word: "You shall not commit adultery" is held in high regard by the Israelis.

Arab clergy in Jerusalem, however, soon felt driven by conscience to protest to the United Nations the introduction of night clubs into the Old City by the occupying power as contributing to the moral degradation of youth. That this was no merely political protest, but was directed toward a serious moral problem, is evident from a recent report from Rabbi Menachem Porush, the deputy mayor of Jerusalem.⁴⁶ According to him, some two hundred Israeli girls between eleven and fifteen years of age operate as prostitutes in Jerusalem, as compared with eighty to ninety in 1968 (in itself very shocking)! No figures are given for prostitutes of other ages. A committee headed by Judge Felix Laundau has agreed to supply funds and three extra social workers to tackle the problem. One wonders whether this token assistance can accomplish much; for without the authority to clean up or clean out the night clubs and other places of prostitution, the infection of immorality may spread faster than it can be prevented or cured by other means.

In defense of Israel it needs to be pointed out that the disruption by war of normal family associations is always accompanied by some breakdown in sexual morality, and Israel has been at war for many years. Also, there are some Arab, European, Asian, and American cities which do not deal adequately with the problems of promiscuity and prostitution. American soldiers abroad, to our shame, have not all been paragons of virtue.

PART V

THE NINTH WORD THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS

We have now dealt with all the Words of the Second Table of the Decalogue except the Ninth Commandment: "You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor." Originally this related only to testimony in court. One could, indeed, pursue the subject in this limited way, placing it within the setting of the Mixed Armistice Commission⁴⁷ or the meetings of the Security Council of the United Nations. However, it is in the forum of international public opinion that Israel really stands trial, for it is here that national policies toward Israel are determined. The present section could have been developed by citing examples of false statements by way of proving how widespread are misrepresentations of the facts concerning the Jews and Arabs of Palestine. Mainly, however, we shall be concerned with aspects of the subject, trying to extricate them from the misunderstandings which are so prevalent as a result of false witness.

Discussion of this Ninth Commandment has been delayed, because the violation of each of the others has been defended by alleged Arab crimes which called forth the Israeli behavior. In late 1947 and the early months of 1948, before the state of Israel was proclaimed, the news of the world carried stories about Arab crimes. Such crimes were not lacking. For example, one day in December, 1947, a Jew was found dead inside a burlap bag near the village of Silwan. In retaliation for the Deir Yassin massacre in April 1948, some physicians from the Hadasseh hospital were murdered by Arabs lying in ambush.⁴⁸ Little was told back in 1948, however, about Zionist atrocities. How peaceful Arabs were little by little being dispossessed was not reported at all until massive flights began. Zionist sources of information presented only a one-sided and distorted picture, scarcely corrected at all by authentic information from the Arab side.

The Truth About The Arab Volunteers

One of the distorted pictures concerns the Arab volunteers who entered Palestine in the spring of 1948 to reinforce the Arab defenders. Those with some military training were immediately assigned defensive

positions, such as being stationed to watch at street intersections for potential terrorists. Some stood guard in people's courtyards. Others guarded key points on the highways leading into the cities, in order to keep out terrorists.

Most of the volunteers were raw recruits, and in February I learned of 2,000 of these undergoing military training in the vicinity of Nablus, who were encamped in the Plain of Sechem. Before May 15 came, there were clashes between these defenders of the Palestinians and the underground Jewish armies. The presence of these people in Palestine was exaggerated in world propaganda, as if the country had been invaded by a vast army. An article by Daniel De Luce appeared in a Kansas newspaper on May 12, 1948 (*The Hutchinson News and Herald*, Hutchinson, Kansas):

The other [than Arab] propaganda campaign by Jewish spokesmen has exaggerated the infiltration of fewer than 4,000 Arab volunteers into a mass invasion and has ignored the growth of the Jewish army into a formidable war machine. Jewish appeals for a United Nations force to implement partition served to hide the now evident fact that the Jews can be military masters in Palestine.

Life Magazine of January 19, 1948, pg. 35, reported that "30,000 Jewish veterans of World War II are helping drill a growing modern army." In the light of this situation it is not surprising that the volunteers were no match for the Haganah and the Irgun, and that already by May 14 the emerging state of Israel controlled more land than she had been assigned by the partition plan. The world was led to believe that Israel was threatened, but was not told that the greatest threat was to the Arabs.

Truth about the 1948 War

Occasionally, the truth will come out, however, even from the pen of an ardent Zionist, who for the sake of bragging may lapse into telling the truth. Thus Ben Gurion wrote in his book, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*:⁴⁹

Until the British left, no Jewish settlement, however remote, was entered or seized by the Arabs, while the Haganah, under severe and frequent attacks, captured many Arab positions and liberated Tiberias, Haifa, Jaffa, and Safad. And so, on the day of destiny, that part of Arab Palestine where Haganah could operate was almost clear of Arabs.

Similarly when the Arab armies came in after May 15, 1948, this

was presented to the world as armed aggression. Thus news commentators taking their clues from Israeli sources broadcast stories of how one after another such cities as Jericho, Nablus, or Hebron had fallen before the Arab armies. One news commentator whom I heard in America, being more intelligent than most, said: "According to the latest bulletin, Bethlehem has been taken by the Arabs; but strangely there has been no report of fighting at Bethlehem."

It is true that some in the Arab nations declared their intention of destroying the state of Israel. This was unfortunate, for it obscured the real peril, that the Israeli armies which had already taken more than the assigned territory of Israel might now take all the rest. The so-called Arab "invasion" prevented that from happening. As it was, Israel, assigned roughly 55% of the land, ended with 77%, an area which prior to 1948 had an Arab majority of about 60% and contained about 75% of the total Arab population of Palestine.⁵¹

The True Story of Israeli Development

The eventual cease-fire gave Israel an opportunity to develop the lands seized in 1948 with reinforcements of Jewish immigrants from abroad and vast gifts of money from world Jewry, as also from foreign governments.

Here is another area of misrepresentation; for the admirable developments of Israel have been unduly magnified to the extent of demeaning Arabs. This is often done ignorantly on the part of people who repeat the propaganda without knowing any better. In January 1948, I flew from Cairo to Lydda after a visit to Egypt and Sinai.⁵² As we drew near to Tel Aviv, the American air hostess exclaimed: "How beautiful is this land! See what the Jews have done, and how it all contrasts so sharply with everything else we have seen since leaving the Nile." She was standing near me and I quietly informed her that this part of Palestine was an area of abundant winter rains, whereas the Sinai Desert we had just flown over received almost no rain. I also told her that half of the orchards below us were Arab owned. She was sincerely amazed and was glad to be corrected.

After the Arabs had been driven out of the fertile areas which they had once farmed, all this development was presented as a great example of how the Israelis had made the desert bloom like the rose. This is not to deny that the Israelis did indeed bring further development both agriculturally and industrially; but what a pity that the Arabs were not allowed to remain and to participate in this development! Although 160,000

Arabs remained behind (increased by 1967 to about 280,000) they were discriminated against as third class citizens (Oriental Jews being the second class), and they were dispossessed of 80% of their lands by legal confiscations, for which they often received only nominal payment.⁵² The Negeb is where one needs to go, if he is to see many genuine Israeli agricultural developments from sheer desert.

Tourist guides in Israel have for more than twenty years been preaching hatred of the Arabs, either by recounting tales of Arab atrocities or by referring to the Arabs and their achievements only by demeaning contrasts—thereby bearing false witness against their neighbors. Tourists are often led to believe that the primary difference between the appearance of the land between Jericho and Jerusalem and between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv was a difference between Israeli energy and technological know-how and Arab lethargy and ignorance. This is often told by people who simply pass it on as authentic information they have gained, without realizing its falsity. They do not know that although Jerusalem receives on the average something between twenty-five and thirty inches of rain per year that once you get east of the Mount of Olives the rainfall diminishes rapidly so that very quickly one enters the Judean Desert, much of which receives no more than five inches of rain a year.

Arabs Bring Fertility to the Desert

The population of the West Bank of the Jordan was probably about doubled by the influx of refugees in 1948; yet many of the refugee camps eventually became agricultural villages which were self-supporting. In one important example, a large Balata camp provided labor for a vegetable oil processing factory. Although many of the refugees in the Jericho area never really became self-supporting, Arab irrigation developments at the mouth of the Wady Qelt to the west of Jericho made fuller use of natural springs than had been made before, and new land was tilled to the east of Jericho, where newly drilled deep wells more than doubled the size of the oasis of Jericho.⁵⁴ Already in 1960 I was told by a man engaged in this development that the young orchards of Jaffa Oranges planted east of the Old Jericho oasis more than made up for in acreage the citrus groves in Israel. However, the climate in the Jordan Valley was not so good for the Jaffa Orange as in the coastal plain, so that the quality of the fruit would not be equal. There is also a small Jericho Orange, which though sweeter than the Jaffa Orange, is less adapted to export.

On to the east of the Jordan River, new irrigation projects achieved

through American aid took care of many refugees by making use of the Arnon River water through the East Ghor irrigation system. Meanwhile the city of Amman was becoming a flourishing city, partly because of and partly in spite of the fact that many of its citizens had been refugees from Palestine. On the average the Palestinians were better educated and so they helped transform a previously Bedouin state into a modern, progressive country.

The True Background of the 1967 War

Although Jordan deeply resented the loss of western Palestine (west of Jerusalem), in practice she was ever increasingly accepting the *fait accompli*, recognizing that Israel was a permanent reality. This could not be said openly by any public official in Jordan, and yet people were building close to the edge of "No-Man's Land" which separated Israel from Jordan as if peace were to be expected. Even King Hussein began building himself a summer palace just north of Jerusalem, although this was not far from the Israeli border.⁵⁴ Even though infiltrations had been made by Palestinian commandos into Israel through Jordan, the government of Jordan had tried to prevent this and there were far fewer such incidents from the side of Jordan than from the Syrian border. Still, during the troubles with Syria in November, 1966, Israel sent an army of about 4,000 men across the border against the village of es-Samu', southwest of Hebron. At the border they were met, according to *Time*, by only four Jordanian soldiers, whom they easily overpowered in order to reach and destroy the forty most prominent buildings including a public school and the mosque.⁵⁵ When aid was rushed from Hebron to es-Samu', the Jordanian soldiers were ambushed. The Jordanian army had never invaded Israel at any time since the truce agreement of 1949; and the bitterness which led to the es-Samu' attack was largely generated by clashes with Syria. Consequently, there were protests inside Israel itself over this event, with the debate breaking out in the Knesset over this issue, where defenders of the Israeli action justified it by citing alleged crimes by infiltrators from Jordan.

If Hussein had not tried to "cool it," and he did so with great difficulty, the renewed war between the Arabs and Israel would have occurred in November, 1966, not in June, 1967. Remarkably, Hussein both restrained the army and held on to his throne. However, this was the beginning of a change in public opinion, so that those who had accepted a *fait accompli* before, now began to demand a war of extermination of

Israel, as tensions continued to build up through further clashes between Israel and Syria.

Nasser's propaganda organs also continued to denounce Jordan. By late spring Hussein could not hope to avoid military alliance with Egypt and still head off revolt at home. Hence, he flew to Egypt and signed a treaty of mutual defense. The scene was now ripe for a war which would give Israel the excuse to move both to the Suez and Jordan Rivers. The question is whether all this was unexpected and unplanned by Israel, or whether it was part of an overall scheme of conquest. One thing is clear that Israel's plan of "defense" was to strike first and to use this prior strike for enlarging Israeli territory.⁵⁶ It is entirely possible that the Israeli army deliberately "snowballed" Israel's troubles with her Arab nations in 1966-67, because they believed they were well prepared for such a "preemptive war," which at the same time would enable Israel to realize her dream of occupying the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan River.

Much broader even is the full scope of the Zionist dream, for some Zionists have always frankly stated their ambition of restoring the full extent of the Solomonic empire, "from the Euphrates to the Brook of Egypt." Dissatisfaction with present frontiers was clearly expressed by Moshe Dyan in his remarks quoted by the *London Times* of June 25, 1969:

Our fathers had reached the frontiers which were recognized in the Partition Plan. Our generation reached the frontiers of 1949. Now the Six-Day Generation had managed to reach Suez, Jordan and the Golan Heights. This is not the end. After the present cease-fire lines, there will be new ones. They will extend beyond Jordan—perhaps to Lebanon and perhaps to Central Syria as well.

Moshe Dyan's dramatics have multiplied the number of generations, counting twenty years as three generations, yet his words are not to be dismissed as the idle boastings of a war hawk; for the militants have always found a way of seizing upon Arab resistance and the activities of Palestinian commandos as an excuse for renewed aggression.

The Arabs in 1967 were dupes, overestimating the military capacity of Egypt, which had gotten enormous war supplies from the Soviet Union and underestimating the military ability of Israel. They therefore, like Israel, followed a policy of brinkmanship. The Soviet Union also contributed to the conflagration in leaking to Nasser an Israeli plan of aggression against Syria. Was this a real plan of aggression? Was it a fake

plan deliberately leaked to the Russians by the Israelis? Was it a fictitious plan invented by the Russians themselves? We may never know the answers to these questions.⁵⁷ In any case, Russia benefited by the debacle. Had the Arabs won the war, naturally they would have been grateful for Russian support. In their loss of the war, however, the prostrate Arab nations (being without any significant support from the West) had no other place to turn to in their struggle for freedom and justice. Jordan, which receives aid from the United States, is not yet ready to ally itself with Russia. The more troubles tiny Jordan has with Israel, however, the more likely she will be driven into the Soviet orbit. So far, the only winner of the Six Day War appears to be the U.S.S.R.!

The Rising Threat of the Commandos

It is remarkable that Jordan's king had been able to retain so long his power and still hold aloof from a Soviet alliance. After sustaining several major attacks from Israel and many lesser incursions,⁵⁸ he managed to maintain his rule. This was probably due to various concessions of co-existence between the Jordanian government and the Palestinian guerrillas, a tenuous situation always open to rupture as the purpose of the government (that of avoiding disastrous conflict with Israel) and the purpose of the commandos (that of increased attack against the enemy) ran counter to one another. Such co-existence could only succeed upon the assumption that Israel would not punish the host country for the action of her guests. The same tenuous and explosive situation exists also in Lebanon. In each case there are grave military and moral problems. Neither country has the military strength to face Israel in full scale war, nor can either suppress commandos without the risk of civil war. Neither country is willing to acquiesce to a peace on Israeli terms, for that would be to betray the moral rights of the Palestinians—rights which have been reaffirmed repeatedly by the United Nations. If either country attempted to suppress the Palestinians, it would be faced with a civil war which could not be easily won without Israel's help. To accept such assistance would be to make these nations accomplices to the Israeli war of extermination against the Palestine nation. The only deliverance from such an impasse, unless Israel repents, would be strong intervention by the United Nations to achieve the goals of justice.

In August, 1968, I saw commandos of el-Fateh in the public streets of Amman, dressed in their camouflage suits, as Israeli jets roared overhead. These Palestinian fighters are the heroes to whom the Palestinians

look for their salvation. They attack mainly the Israeli army and military roads, civilian casualties being largely accidental.⁵⁹ There are noteworthy exceptions, however, reminding one of Zionist terrorism of 1947-48.

A possible reason for such exceptions may be the fact that Israel tends to suppress news on the effectiveness of Palestinian attacks against the military, so that vicious attacks against civilians may have been done by unscrupulous persons seeking headlines. Such may account for the bombing of the Ben Yehudah market in November, 1968, but it by no means justifies it. Also deplorable is the bombing of the Jerusalem supermarket in February, 1969. The murderous slaughter of Israeli children in a school bus near the Lebanese border, May 24, 1970, is just as despicable as any crime committed by the Israelis. One is glad that el-Fateh has denounced the communist-oriented Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine which claimed credit for the atrocity. The fact that this was in retaliation for the Israeli bombing of an Egyptian school (not properly identified from the air) with an even greater loss of life is no excuse whatsoever. Even if the Israeli act had been deliberate, this would be no moral justification.

Yet one must try to understand what one does not approve. A recent statement by Dr. George Habash, a leader of this lunatic fringe (the P.F.L.P.), explains how a humanitarian physician could be turned into a ruthless terrorist:⁶⁰

Then it was 1967 [error for 1948] and they [the Israelis] came to Lydda and . . . I don't know how to explain this . . . what this still means for us, not to have a home, not to have a nation, or anyone who cares. . . . They forced us to flee. It is a picture that haunts me and that I'll never be able to forget. Thirty thousand human beings walking, weeping . . . screaming in terror . . . women with babies in their arms and children tugging at their skirts . . . and the Israeli soldiers pushing them on with their guns. Some people fell by the wayside, some never got up again. It was terrible. One thinks: this isn't life, this isn't human. Once you have seen this, your heart and your brain are transformed. . .

This tragic human scene in which Habash was caught up is accurately depicted. A newsreel shown in the theaters of the United States in May, 1948, showing the flight of people from Haifa presented briefly the same grisly scene of panic-stricken women and children in anguished flight, with armed soldiers of the Haganah nudging them on. The commentator said somewhat as follows: "This is the tragedy which has befallen those

who deny to Israel the right to exist." It could as truly have been said: "This is the crime committed by those who deny the right of the Palestinian Arabs to their ancestral land."

In 1948 there were some moderate Jews who urged the Arabs to remain behind and to help them build the new state of Israel. So today also, Palestinians talk of building in liberated Palestine a secular state with justice and freedom for all. However, just as the guns of the Irgun and the Haganah in 1948 roared so loud that they drowned out all other voices,⁶¹ so today there is grave danger that liberal Jews of Israel will not be able to hear the sincere Palestinian pleas for a de-Zionized Israel in which Jews and Arabs can live in mutual loyalty and build together a truly democratic society. If the Palestinian commandos are to achieve their noble goal, they must restrict themselves to military and industrial targets and exercise every reasonable effort to protect civilians. They should also watch for every possible opportunity to show their kindness to the enemy and to apologize for wanton acts beyond their control which deny their purpose. This is to demand of the Palestinians, however, the observance of rules which the Israeli army has itself repeatedly violated, as it has bombed farms and villages in Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt suspected of harboring commandos. Indiscriminate violence is self-defeating.

Why the Truth is Not Told

Events affecting Israel and her neighbors are seldom presented with accuracy in Israel or in the World Press. Zionists pressures have often intimidated the American Press, so that it dare not present the truth in any forthright way. An editorial in *The National Observer* (June 22, 1970, pg. 10) describes the situation well:

Public officials and commentators are well aware of the energetic Israel lobby in this country. Any statement or suggestion that seems even remotely contrary to Israeli interests is set upon with passion. This newspaper recently received scores of hostile letters after publishing a news report about Zionist activities in the United States [May 18, 1970, pp. 1&6]. Many letters charged us with anti-Semitism.

While we appreciate the emotional ties some of our countrymen have with Israel, we don't think such ties are a sound basis for making public policy. As for the anti-Semitism charge: Name calling is a practice preferred by those without a sound and rational argument.

Many good articles and books cannot find publication in America. Such pressures are so strong that Alfred M. Lilienthal's masterful book

What Price Israel?, after going through numerous editions in this country, has had to be reissued in Beirut. After its reprinting, the U.S. Customs tried to keep it out.

Much of what is written on the subject is due to ignorance and misinformation; for the easiest access is to slanted news which leaves out important facts or overemphasizes some events to the neglect of others. Hence, we have the ironical situation of the people who are generally the best informed (since they are avid readers) being for that very reason the most misinformed and expressing their views very passionately. In order to avoid bearing false witness, however, one must make sure of his facts, even if they are embarrassing to himself or to the community which he serves. The truth suppressed has a way of boomeranging.

False Witness about Oneself

"You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor" may also be shortened to simply "You shall not bear false witness." Simple honesty, truth in all phases of life belongs to the prophetic hope (Zephaniah 3:13; Zechariah 8:16f.). Thus it is just as much a violation of the ultimate significance of the Ninth Word to tell a lie about oneself as to tell a lie about one's neighbor. Israeli lies serve to cover up Israeli crimes.

One of the most appalling deeds of Israel after the capture of the Old City of Jerusalem was to level houses of some 3,600 people. Two different types of experience on the part of these refugees have been told, and both are probably true. One is of people being taken soon thereafter on buses to the Jordan River. The other is of people wandering about homeless for days before finally giving up and crossing the Jordan, although they had been waiting in vain for Israel to provide other housing which had been promised.⁶² Israeli propaganda, however, has continuously falsified recent events. Dr. J.L. Talmon, Professor of Modern History at Hebrew University, writing of the events of June, 1967, has blatantly declared:

There have been only minor cases of plunder which received prompt punishment, although in the heat of firing and sniping there seems to have been some unnecessary destruction of houses. The people left homeless were soon provided with shelter.

Not only was plundering commonplace, no Israeli interference from above was manifest as the Israeli army swept through the West Bank. But it was usual after a city or community fell for Israel to give free license to plunderers for a limited length of time with full immunity.

In some cases there was a limit of only one day. Dr. Talmon ignores the fact that the "unnecessary destruction of houses" did not concern simply scattered, disconnected events, but it involved at its worst ruthless destruction of whole villages, not merely in the heat of battle, but as a coldly calculated plan in the aftermath of battle.⁶³ As for the provision of shelter, many homeless people failed to find any place to live in Palestine and so they sought a haven in TransJordan. Then what shelter was given those stubborn enough to remain, despite harrassment? It was generally not in special quarters prepared by the Israelis, but in homes confiscated from other Arabs who fled out of fear or duress.⁶⁴ It is this tokenism in generously sharing other people's property which Dr. Talmon brings forward as evidence of Israeli humanitarianism!

Even truth is regularly misconstrued, such as the following statement by Marie Syrkin:⁶⁵

Hussein's broadcast to his people gave full instructions as to how to treat a conquered enemy; "Kill the Jews wherever you find them. Kill then with your hands, with your nails and teeth."

Here Miss Syrkin deliberately alters the context. It is not as if these were battle instructions at the commencement of a war that King Hussein expected to win, but they were spoken when the Jordanian army was already defeated and was on the brink of a rout, also after Israel had rejected King Hussein's urgent pleas for a cease-fire. This had nothing at all to do with "a conquered enemy," but with the fanatical resistance that was asked of a crumbling army which he was urging to stand and fight to the last man, even after their ammunition gave out.

Many things are printed in the *Jerusalem Post* as sheer propaganda, as is true of Zionist publications anywhere. An Arab merchant whom I have known since 1947 told of an article in the *Post* which stated that refugees of the 1948 vintage then living in East Jerusalem could apply for the return of their property. This sounded only just. In fact, it had occurred to me soon after the Six Day War, that if Israel really wanted to be magnanimous and conciliatory she could begin this by restoring the property of all the people of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The Arab merchant told me that he clipped the article from the *Jerusalem Post* and went to an Israeli lawyer whose services he had hired during the British Mandate. He and his Jewish lawyer went to Tel Aviv to see if a hundred-acre orange grove of his could be recovered. They discovered that it was occupied by apartment houses. Naturally he could not get his orange

grove back, nor was there anyone at Tel Aviv willing to reimburse him. He then said to his lawyer, "I would like to recover my father's estate in Jerusalem." They went to inspect this property, a multi-storied department store, and they discovered that it had been broken up into cheap apartments. The lawyer dutifully inquired of Israeli authorities in Jerusalem and they answered that the Arab could get the property back if he paid twenty years of back taxes. Undaunted the Arab merchant said he would pay these taxes. This was duly reported to Israeli authorities, who replied, "But some of the families in the apartments have been buying them, it will be necessary for this Arab to reimburse these people." Wonder of wonders, my Arab friend said he would do even this. Once more, the Israeli lawyer duly reported the matter, and again the officials showed that their promise was one they had no intention of keeping: "Tell him he may get his store back, when all the Arab countries sit down and sign a peace treaty with Israel."

If all the Arabs of the Middle East were as shrewd as this merchant, they would soon discover how unwilling the rulers of Israel would be to withdraw from the Gaza Strip and from very much of the West Bank of the Jordan, although officially they may try to make the world believe they would part with most of this in exchange for a peace treaty. Israeli promises are too often nothing but propaganda; but one must be daring enough to put them to the test in order to prove this.

Arab Lies and Truth

It is one of the tragedies of the Six Day War that Nasser and Hussein agreed for a time to the charge that the USA and Great Britain had helped Israel in her air attack upon the Egyptian air fields. This was a grievous lie, perhaps arising first of all from misunderstanding—the airplanes having flown in from the northwest instead of from the east. Yet by the time the statement was made, they had not verified this and still they presented it as a fact rather than one line of speculation as to what happened. Doubtless the British and American favoritism for Israel deserved a slap; but the only slap with a wallop is the truth. Nasser also lied about his closure of the Gulf of Aqaba. It was not mined and no ships were stopped.⁶⁶

In general, the Arabs are more truthful than the Zionists, because they have so much that is true to tell that they have no need to propagate lies. They may occasionally exaggerate, as also some victims of Nazi persecution could well do; but in either case the injustices they have suffered are so great, that occasional exaggerations scarcely affect the true

picture.

Incredible Truth and Credence in Falsehood

In fact, all one needs to do is tell the truth about Israel and the world finds this incredible. That there exists what Moshe Menuhin has aptly called "Napalm Judaism" is simply unbelievable.⁶⁷ It is to the credit of world Jewry that this is so; for the Jews whom we know as honest neighbors and socially concerned citizens do not act like the state of Israel. Yet these well-intentioned people believe all the Zionist propaganda and give generously for its dissemination. One Jewish professor in America told me in the spring of 1968 that he had been amazed to learn that the whole occupation army of Israel in the West Bank of the Jordan consisted of only three men. Astonished as he was, he believed it, because it appeared in a Jewish publication. I did not reply, for I had not recently visited the West Bank. I am now ready to inform him that there are at least three military camps between Jerusalem and Nablus alone, and although I have no idea of how many men there may be in these camps, there are certainly more than three soldiers. Most people who spread Zionist lies, I am convinced, think them true; but surely some responsible persons somewhere know that the propaganda is untrue. Is perchance the glorious cause of a recreated Israel so holy that it transcends the command, "Thou shalt not bear false witness"?

PART VI

THE FIFTH WORD

HONOR THY FATHER AND THY MOTHER

We come now to the First Table of the Law, as we keep proceeding largely in a reverse order: "Honor your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land which the LORD your God gives you." My knowledge of Israeli adherence to this command is very limited. Insofar as I know, serious breaches of this command are not more common than in other lands. Accordingly, one might expect Israeli occupancy of Palestine to be "long." It could be argued, however, that breaking some of the other commands is an indirect dishonoring of parents, particularly a dishonoring of great rabbinical and prophetic forebears who would not have approved. As early as 1922, the great spiritual Zionist Achad Ha'am wrote in protest over Jewish avenging of Arab murders:⁶⁸

"... Jews and blood—are there two greater opposites than these? It was with these words that I concluded one of my first essays many years ago; and I was confident at the time that this was a first principle, the truth of which no Jew could doubt. For what did we save from the overthrow of the Destruction (of the temple) but the teachings of our Prophets, which we took with us on the road of the long exile to illumine for us the darkness of our lives on strange soil. Our blood was shed like water in all four corners of the earth for thousands of years, but we did not shed blood There is a tendency to sacrifice, on the altar of the revival, its prophets, that is the great moral principles for which our people lived and for which it suffered and for which alone it thought it worthwhile to labor to become a people again in the land of its forefathers.

Special honor should be given to Shimon ben Shetach, an important Rabbinic authority and founder of the synagogue schools in the first half of the first century B.C.E. The rabbinic passage concerning him, in the Jerusalem Talmud, reads as follows:⁶⁹

Shimon ben Shetah was busy with flax. His disciples said to him, "Rabbi, stop it and we will buy you a donkey so you will not need to

work so hard." They went, they bought him a donkey from Saracen, and a precious pearl was found lodged in it.

They they came saying to him: "From now on you need not work any more." He asked them "Why?" They told him, "We bought a donkey from a Saracen and a precious pearl was lodged in it." He objected, "But did its owner know about it?" They answered, "No." "Go away," he said to them, "give it back."

(They remonstrated:) "But did not Rab Huna the son of Bibi bar Gozlon report in the name of Rab that a precedent was established in the presence of Rabbi, even according to him who said, "To receive what was *stolen* from an idolater is forbidden; yet it is universally allowed, that to keep any *lost* property of an idolater is permissible?" "

"What? Do you think Shimon ben Shitah is a barbarian?" (he protested.) "Shimon ben Shetah would rather hear (the Saracen say): 'Blessed by the God of the Jews' than to gain this whole world!"

The Saracen of the above story was a nomadic Arab from North Arabia and an idolater, yet Shimon ben Shetach felt duty bound to return to him his precious gem found matted in the donkey's hair. Thanks to the Prophet Muhammad, the Arabs are no longer idolaters; but they worship only the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and that without any use of images. Why then do we not hear the Arabs say, "Blessed be the God of the Jews"? Is it not because the generous spirit of Shimon ben Shetach has been forgotten? Surely such a noble father of Judaism should be honored by his spiritual sons of our day in remembering his words and living them.

PART VII

THE FOURTH WORD

REMEMBER THE SABBATH DAY

The Fourth Word to "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy" finds various types of observance and non-observance inside Israel. Occasional use of the Sabbath for the sale of Israeli war bonds, as also the feverish preparation of the Israeli Blitzkrieg might be decried. There was one case of a terrorist bombing raid being carried out in Jerusalem on the Sabbath in December, 1947, as I well remember, an act which could in no way be justified as self-defense.

The divine sanctification of the Sabbath as a day of rest was not for the sake of the Sabbath alone, but as a means of consecration of the whole of life. This is the point made in Exodus 31:13:

Verily ye shall keep My Sabbaths, for it is a sign between Me and you throughout your generations, that ye may know that I am the LORD who sanctify you. (cf. Ezekiel 20:12)

Although the Orthodox Party in Israel has obtained the establishment of Sabbath laws which ban certain types of activity on the Sabbath, including public transportation, yet life there is predominantly secular. I was shocked when I first visited a *Qibbutz* in Palestine, to learn that there was no synagogue there, nor even one accessible nearby. When the Sabbath is observed as mere cessation from labor and not accompanied by worship and Bible study, it fails to sanctify human life.

To be sure there is a vigorous minority of Orthodox Jews in Israel, but some have questioned whether they are fully alive to the moral problems of the twentieth century, or whether they are otiose. Among these questioners was the late Dr. Solomon Zeitlin, for many years the editor of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*:⁷⁰

Yes, we have a Sadducee group now in Israel. They maintain that all the laws which were handed down from our forefathers must be strictly observed. They will allow no departure therefrom to be tolerated. They are not interested in bringing religion into consonance with

life. They, or at least their religious leaders, have the same type of mentality as the Jews in Eastern Europe from whence they themselves came. They do not grasp the fact that a state of Israel has come into being. A Pharisaic movement unfortunately is not yet noticeable in Israel. There have not appeared on the horizon religious leaders who possess not only the full knowledge of rabbinic lore, but who have the courage to make the law applicable to modern life in Israel.

The lack of a progressive religious leadership in Israel, comparable to that of the Pharisaic movement of the Second Jewish Commonwealth, is due largely to the fact that the present leaders are interested only in making Israel an industrial state An ordinary Levantine state will have *no spiritual effect* upon the Jews of the Diaspora.

Even if such a Pharisaic movement as Zeitlin called for were to emerge, if it fails to orient itself ethically toward the Palestinian Arabs, one may proclaim once more the indictment of the prophet Isaiah:

Bring me no more vain oblations;
It is an offering of abomination unto Me;
New moon and sabbath, the holding of convocations—
I cannot endure iniquity
Along with the solemn assembly! . . .
And when ye spread forth your hands,
I will hide Mine eyes from you;
Yea, when ye make many prayers,
I will not hear;
Your hands are full of blood!

(Isaiah 1:13, 15)

PART VIII

THE THIRD WORD

SANCTIFY THE NAME OF THE LORD

“You shall not take the name of the LORD your God in vain” originally had a court setting, in which testimony or promises given under oath proved false. The principle underlying this this prohibition is well expressed by Philo:⁷¹

For an oath is an appeal to God as a witness on matters in dispute, and to call Him as witness to a lie is the height of profanity.

Since this might be thought of as but one method among many of profaning God's name, we do not hesitate to ask under this heading some relevant and searching questions. Is it not taking the Lord's name in vain to claim a religious right to repossess the Holy Land and yet not be a religious adherent? Humanists, agnostics, and even atheists claim on the basis of Holy Scripture an inalienable right in the Holy Land simply because of their Jewish descent, whereas people of piety who were born there are not allowed to return.

Another serious question is: What right has one to claim that promises of the Holy Prophets are being fulfilled in the reestablishment of the State of Israel when the teachings of these prophets are ignored. Dr. Judah Magnes, long-time worthy president of Hebrew University, who was a moderate Zionist, a man who made room in his thinking for an equal place for the Arab in the hoped-for bi-national state of Palestine, died a heartbroken man when he saw the state of Israel as an ugly caricature of the land for which he had devoted his life. He was but one of a number of Israeli liberals belonging to the 'Ihud [Unity] Association who have protested wrongs committed against Arab Palestinians. Martin Buber was another noted Israeli scholar with a prophetic conscience.⁷²

The epitome of the problem for a religious Jew is well expressed by Professor Ernest Simon of Hebrew University: “We are not a light to the nations.” Read Isaiah 42:1-6 and you will see what he meant, for here is depicted a servant whose conquest is so gentle and beneficent that the

conquered await his coming as a liberator. Instead of eagerly expecting and yearning for conquest by modern Israel, the Middle East stood in dread in 1947-48, in 1956, in 1966-67*; and still today the nations of the Middle East live in fear. Israel is surely not "a light to the nations." How then can Israel be claimed to be a vital part of Judaism and necessary to a full and satisfying Jewish life? Is not this claim a sort of profanation of the name of God?

Similar criticisms are always possible of so-called Christian nations also. How, for example, can America be called "Christian" if she does not rectify the inferior status of some of her minorities? No worse profanation along this line can be found than South Africa's claim to be Christian, or that of Portugal, despite her harsh colonialism. Israel is not a colony of the United States, yet in effect she partly serves that purpose, whenever our support of her is justified on the grounds that she is a bulwark of Western influence in the Middle East. In our continued generous economic and military aid to Israel, despite her refusal to allow her refugee population to return and despite her refusal to relinquish her hold upon Arab lands, we have forfeited the right to be considered either Jewish or Christian in any moral sense of the terms.

Is it surely nothing short of blasphemy to claim that God and the Holy Bible are on the side of a nation whose national goals are sought through injustice? Should not one cite the words of Habakkuk?

Woe to him who builds a town with blood,
and founds a city on iniquity! (2:12)

Yet there are other words in the Scriptures, since not all their authors attained the same worthy ideals. Thus Israel instead of fulfilling the Servant ideal has lived by another passage in Isaiah (11:14):⁷³

But they shall swoop down upon the shoulder of
the Philistines in the west,
And together they shall plunder the people of the east,
They shall put forth their hand against Edom and Moab,
And the Ammonites shall obey them.

Even though pragmatically (one might claim) Israel has begun at the lower level, is it not time she turned from harsh nationalistic adventures to worthy spiritual goals, such as those described in Isaiah 19:24f.?

In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth; for that the LORD of hosts hath blessed him, saying: "Blessed be Egypt My people and Assyria the work of My hands, and Israel Mine Inheritance."

*[And again in 1973 and 1982—ed.]

PART IX

THE SECOND WORD

THOU SHALT HAVE NO OTHER GODS

Throughout this treatise I have constantly called attention to passages of Scripture which might be used to nullify the effect of each one of the Ten Commandments as they apply to Israel. Israel has become to many a sacrosanct entity whose right to dominate can brook no opposition of morality or the Ten Commandments. Does this not mean that there is a serious question as to whether even the Second Commandment is being observed by such Zionists, "You shall have no other gods beside Me?" The issue is particularly acute in the words of Mr. James Cohen, as reported by *The Jewish Chronicle* of London, March 7, 1958, who stated:

There is no other 'Mitzvah' [commandment] for the Jews today, religious or non-religious, than *Aliyah* The first commandment of Judaism today must be 'Thou shalt return to Israel!'

No Christian or Muslim can object on principle to *Aliyah*, which means "return to Israel," as long as this does not mean displacement of or transgression of the rights of the once indigenous population. However, the flight of the Arabs from their native land ("encouraged" by the Israeli army and government) has each time been accompanied by frantic appeals for *Aliyah*. Thus *The Jerusalem Post* (Weekly Overseas Edition) of July 17, 1967, contained six articles calling for *Aliyah*! Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, as reported on page 5, called for a "great wave of Jewish immigration from the free world to help meet the tremendous challenges now facing the Jewish people as a result of new conquests."

Even inside her former frontiers, Israel has often confiscated (with only nominal reimbursement) the property of Arabs in order to settle Jewish immigrants. The same is going on today inside the newly annexed territory. The right of eminent domain in order to carry out government projects is universally recognized in the world today; but only in Israel are such projects identified with ethnic displacements, or the strategic locations of a particular ethnic group for military purposes. The Torah itself

declared (Deuteronomy 19:14), "You shall not remove your neighbor's land marks, set up by previous generations;" but this, of course, does not apply to Arabs, despite their centuries of residence in the land. Therefore, equally irrelevant is the rebuke of the prophet Elijah, "Have you killed, and also taken possession?" (IKings 21:19)

A particularly frank and lucid exposition of Zionist philosophy is that of Dr. David Lieber, President of the University of Judaism at Los Angeles:⁷⁴

It is important to note that the provision of a haven for persecuted Jews is only an incidental by-product of this basic necessity of Jewish life. The need for a Jewish state is not based on the horrors of the Nazi extermination camps, although the practical achievement of bringing Israel into existence was undoubtedly forwarded as the result of reactions to this most shocking development in our times. Even if Hitler and the Russian Czars and the Spanish Inquisitors had been ardent admirers of the Jews, even if Jews were everywhere welcomed with open arms, the basic fact that they are a nation bound by inseparable ties to Palestine would not be changed . . . Far from being a form of "foreign nationalism," Zionism is in its broadest sense—the age-old yearning of the Jew for the restoration of his homeland—an integral part of Jewish religion . . . To ask Jews to give up Palestine is to ask them to cease to be Jews. Therefore an independent Jewish nation must exist in Palestine and no other consideration [sic] can be allowed to interfere with this requirement.

Does "no other consideration" exclude recognition of the inalienable rights of the former majority population? It surely must! Does it likewise exclude a faithful pursuit of the ethical teachings of the Hebrew prophets? Yes, but probably Dr. Lieber had never thought of this. Still, in practice, Zionism has meant exactly that in the policies of the State of Israel. Have not the opportunistic, ruthless actions of that nation even called into question whether Israel had not already from an ethical point of view ceased to be Jewish? How can the ideal of Zionism as presently pursued be other than the suicide of Judaism? It is not in anger, but in grief, that one raises such poignant questions. How can anyone with any sensitivity to the worthwhileness of Judaism not share the anguish of the prophet who said: "As I live, says the Lord GOD, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live; . . ." (Ezekiel 33:11; cf. 18:23, 32 RSV.)

PART X

THE FIRST WORD

I AM THE LORD THY GOD WHO BROUGHT THEE OUT OF THE LAND OF EGYPT, OUT OF THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE

We come now to the First Word: "I am the LORD your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt."⁷⁵ Remembrance of this fact can inspire different kinds of thoughts. One of these is the might of the Lord on behalf of His chosen people, as in Deuteronomy 7:17f.:

If thou shalt say in thy heart, "These nations are more than I; how can I dispossess them?" thou shalt not be afraid of them; thou shalt well remember what the LORD thy God did unto Pharaoh, and unto all Egypt . . . So shall the LORD thy God do unto all the peoples of whom thou art afraid.

Initially, this referred to conquest under Joshua. There is no promise to the Hebrews of dispossessing nations at any later period in history.

In fact, when the Hebrews came into the land of Canaan, the coastal plain was inhabited by Canaanites whom the Hebrews were unable to dispossess. Philistines soon began to arrive from the maritime world and took control of the area, but without driving out the Semitic inhabitants. Thus Philistine culture as it developed in the land of Canaan was probably a mixture including some Canaanite elements, such as the worship of the grain god Dagon. Yet the prophet Amos included these very people under the providential love of the Lord:

Are ye not as [dear as]
the children of the Ethiopians unto Me,
O children of Israel? saith the LORD.
Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt,
And the Philistines from Caphtor,
And Aram from Kir?

(Amos 9:7)

Thus remembrance of the Lord who had brought the Hebrews from the land of Egypt can also awaken thoughts concerning the providential love of God for other peoples, including settlers in the land of Canaan itself who arrived later than the Hebrews.

The Philistine who later gave his name to the land (Palestine) was included in the gracious promise of Zechariah 9:6-7, written about 330 B.C.:

And I will cut off the pride of the Philistines.
 And I will take away his blood out of his mouth,
 And his detestable things between his teeth,
 And he also shall be a remnant for our God;
 And Ekron as a Jebusite.

No doubt some Philistines did become Jews and some Christians; but, ultimately, most of them became Muslims. Whatever their religion, they became monotheists. The Muslims in their diet, even, avoid such "detestable things" as pork. This prophesy has thus been fulfilled in a remarkable way. There is not the slightest hint anywhere in Scripture that the Philistines should be unfit to continue as permanent inhabitants of the land. The same God who gave the land to the Hebrews gave it also to the Philistines, and analogously to other peoples settling there as well.

One of Israel's psalms places in the mouth of Zion the following words:

"Among those who know me I mention Rahab [Egypt]
 and Babylon;
 behold Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia;
 'This one was born there,' they say . . .
 The Lord records as he registers the peoples,
 'This one was born there.' "
 (Psalm 87:4,6)

The tragedy of today is that more than a million "born there" now live as involuntary exiles, dispossessed by persons not born there!

Therefore, the First Word of the Decalogue needs to be kept in association with the exalted theme of universalism so eloquently expressed in later Hebrew literature. It can also awaken the noble thought of the Golden Rule, as in Deuteronomy:

You shall not pervert the justice due to the sojourner or to the fatherless, or take a widow's raiment in pledge; but you shall remember that you were a slave in Egypt . . . (24:17f.)

The stranger who sojourns with you shall be to you as the native among you, and you shall love him as yourself; for you were strangers in the land of Egypt . . . (Leviticus 19:34)

Hence within the total thought of the Hebrew Scriptures there is nothing in the Ten Commandments to justify dispossession of the modern inhabitants of Palestine. Rather, they reveal the kind of God who is concerned for all oppressed peoples.

More than this, the Holy Land is the home of three universal religions, all worshippers (in various ways) of the same God who brought the Hebrews out of "the house of bondage." Is it not time that we recognized the ecumenical reality of these three great monotheistic faiths? Are not they all the spiritual sons of Abraham? Surely Isaiah 54:5 has relevance here:

And the Holy One of Israel is your Redeemer,
The God of the whole earth He is called.

Under the influence of this verse, Isaiah 52:12 has been conflated in the complete Isaiah Scroll from the first Qumran cave:

For the LORD will go before you,
and the God of Israel will be your rearguard.
The God of the whole earth shall He be called.

The God Of Israel Is The God Of All

This universalism is an authentic note of Judaism which in the Prophets themselves is applied to the non-Hebrew inhabitants of Palestine. However, The Book of Deuteronomy was concerned with the extermination of the Canaanites, in an *ex post facto* manner, since they had proved in history to be a source of religious apostasy for the Israelites. The Deuteronomic historians, writing under the influence of this theory, lamented the fact that these predecessors of the Hebrews had not been exterminated or driven out.⁷⁹ Actually, many pagans were assimilated and became a source of religious syncretism, though eventually most of their descendants became good Jews. Still as late as Malachi, Nehemiah, and Ezra, there was great concern or religious peril in intermarriage with these "foreigners." In the strife and bigotry of those times, the Book of Ruth was written as a subtle protest, maintaining that even King David (the prototype of the future Messiah) was of Moabite descent. Unlike Saul, the historical David had indeed been an integrationist, bringing over Philistine contingents into his army and employing the services of one

Uriah the Hittite. Instead of expelling the Jebusites when he took Jerusalem, the Israelites settled among them and intermarried—a fact referred to in the Lord's marriage with the Amorite-Hittite Jerusalem in Ezekiel 16.

Throughout the history of the Hebrew kingdoms, however, there were pockets of unassimilated pagans (called "the remnant of the nations" in Ezekiel 36:3). These were spared the Babylonian exile. "The remnant of the Philistines" whose doom was pronounced by Amos (1:8) are, according to the generous view of Zechariah 9:6f., to "become a remnant for our God." Similarly Ezekiel 47:21–48:29 presented a grandiose future land of Israel embracing all of Lebanon and much of Syria to the northeast of Damascus; but this was to involve no expulsion of non-Jews, but they were to maintain their "inheritance" (i.e. property rights) among the Jews and to be counted as belonging to the various tribes of Israel among which they resided (47:22f.). Here is a passage which can be appealed to as support for Israeli expansionism; but Israel has not even begun to live by this passage until she emulates its generous spirit, which to use Uri Avnery's title means "Israel without Zionists."⁷⁷

Since universalism is really an important doctrine of Judaism, then on what grounds can other servants of this God be treated as unworthy to possess jointly and equally the Holy Land, be they Muslim or Christian? If their exclusion is unjust, then a million and a half Arabs will need to be reinstated to their fatherland and recompensed for what they have suffered.⁷⁸

Injustices Suffered by Jews

The Jews more than other peoples have themselves suffered unmercifully and quite unjustly during centuries of Christian intolerance in Europe, especially before the dawn of religious freedom. Different Christian groups also persecuted each other, and American colonists who had come here in order to worship God as they pleased were not always prepared to grant the same right to others. The most severely persecuted in all history have been the Jews, with Christians too often modeling their ideal of a Christian monarch after King Josiah of ancient Judah. It was not so much that Jews were believed to be racially different as it was that they were religiously different. Where hatred abounds, however, all sorts of other sinister reasons can be found. Basically, however, the Jews were suffering for their religion; and because they were loyal to their faith despite all calumny and abuse, they should be honored as people of heroic devotion to their religion. They were martyrs.

Hitler's persecution, however, was primarily racist. Often one was debased because of his Jewish ancestry and not because of his religion. It is possible to recant of one's religion, either sincerely, or insincerely; but one cannot repent of his ancestry—though he might try to conceal it. Hitler's persecution was the worst, not simply in its cruelty, but in its prostitution of science to the cause of genocide against a people whose only crime was that they existed. These people were even denied a choice between apostasy and martyrdom in this most diabolical of all persecutions. Is it this which has made Jews forget the rights of others, with survival alone being thought a sufficient motive for living? If so, one can sympathize with this, but not excuse wrongs heaped upon others.

One felt in 1948 that he could understand Zionist atrocities and injustices as the consequence of the Jewish people having become demoralized and psychologically unbalanced as a result of their experiences in the Nazi concentration camps. These Jews were unconsciously, yet understandably (so it seemed), transferring their hostility toward the Nazis to the Arabs. Therefore, one could also hope that if given time, the Israelis would return to sanity and morality and perceive that the Arabs were not their real enemies.

It was the 1956 War which first sharply called this theory into question, launched as it was by the Israeli massacre of many law-abiding Arab citizens in the village of Kafr Kassim.⁷⁹ The 1967 War deepened this disillusionment, so that liberal minded people have felt compelled to speak out for conscience sake as they had not done before. It hurts to do this, for it is easily misunderstood as "anti-Semitism." In fact, since Zionism teaches Jews to expect persecution and uses this as a motivation for emigration to Israel, it is natural that the humanitarian motives of those who criticize Israel are misunderstood. Yet for the good of the Jews and for the peace of the world, one must dare to bring down all sorts of defamation upon his own head for speaking the truth.⁸⁰

Zionism a Denial of Universalism

What then explains the cruelties of political Zionism and its fierce intolerance of its critics? It cannot be religion; for nothing could be farther from Judaism than atheism, and yet an atheist Jew will receive immediate reception as a fellow national if he emigrates to Israel. Neither is it nationalism in the sense of being a simple ethnic majority in control of one's own land; for there has been a constant insistence upon the right of becoming the predominant population. Through fair means or

through foul, therefore, Zionism necessitates the transfer of the Palestinian Arabs from their country. It is, of course, wholly unfair that these people do not peaceably acquiesce in their own dispossession. In other words, there is in political Zionism a national ideology which is intolerant of minorities, except as they become numerically insignificant.

Thus, with notable exceptions, the liberal of Israel who advocates the return of the occupied territories to the Arab nations does so not simply on humanitarian grounds, but with even greater concern for maintaining the predominantly Jewish character of the state. Certainly, on general principles, no one can object to the predominantly Catholic character of Spain or to the Hindu culture of India. On theological grounds no Christian can object to a Jewish state. That it should exist in the ancestral homeland seems only appropriate. Justice to the people indigenous to the land is, however, of paramount concern and must be safeguarded. The ideology of political Zionism may be well illustrated by an article of Professor Yehoshua Arieli, "The Case against Absorbing the New Areas." He states:⁸¹

The Jewish state has by its very nature a very limited capacity to absorb non-Jews as fully integrated citizens who would be capable of identifying themselves with the purposes of the State. Possessing as its very *raison d'être* a transcending purpose which goes beyond the concept of the citizen-state, Israel cannot, unlike other modern secular states, absorb and integrate large minority groups. Its very nature as national state *par excellence* requires that it should honour the national aspirations of other groups and nations. The integration of such a large minority of Arabs as citizens would therefore mean the suicide of the idea and practice of the Jewish state or the repression of this minority.

What Arieli fails to recognize is that such a Jewish state could never have come into being in the first place without the contravention of the democratic rights of a majority and their hounding out of the land, and the *raison d'être* of this kind of Israel necessitated both the expulsion of the Palestinians from the Israel of 1948 and the persistent denial of their right to return, except in limited numbers, in the years that followed. Even if, as a sort of tokenism, minorities in small numbers were to be fully tolerated and to be made full Israeli citizens in every sense of the word,⁸² Israel would still remain undemocratic by keeping more than a million and a half Palestinians in involuntary exile.

Neither is it any justification for this that the slow and remorseless effect of more than twenty years of injustice to the Palestinians has in

some cases eroded the cordiality of Arab nations toward their own Jewish minorities so that half a million have come to Israel. Israel stated from the first that it was her intention to gather in these people. She should not feel resentful that her strategy has worked—even though there is here clear evidence of the baneful effect of Zionism upon Jews outside Israel. Insofar as Arab nations have been unjust to their minorities, their criticism of Israeli discrimination against minorities inside Israel is certainly compromised; but the Palestinians bear no responsibility for crimes committed by other Arab nations. They have not perpetrated persecution of any kind and are entitled to repatriation.

Hopeful Voices among Palestinians

Modern Israel has such an accumulated debt of injustice, one wonders how she could ever "return the pearl" to the Arabs or even inspire them to exclaim, "Blessed be the God of the Jews." This is the real problem, one that might seem insurmountable from all sides, including the Arab side. Yet, just as there are "hopeful voices in Israel," so there are among ordinary Palestinians.

Near Nablus, in the summer of 1968, I was engaged in an archeological excavation.⁸³ Before the dig was over, a workman who called me Abu Dahoud asked one of my colleagues: "Is Mr. Dahoud Jewish?"

"No, not at all!" came the answer.

The Arab protested: "We know he is not a Zionist, but is he Jewish? It is all right to be Jewish. Why should he not be Jewish?"

This remarkable tolerance at Nablus, where resistance to Israeli occupation has been strong, shows how profoundly tolerant many of the Palestinians are.

Eight years earlier, I was retained at a police station in Ramallah, because I was discovered to be without my passport on a day that King Hussein was passing through. Under police interrogation, I stated: "I can see why you must make sure that all visitors are friends of the Arabs, especially on a day like this."

The police chief retorted: "*A friend of the Arabs!?* A man is a man! It makes no difference to me whether he is Jewish, Arab, or anything else. All that matters is whether he is a friend of man. that is what I am, a friend of man!"

The Need for Repentance

This treatise began with a call to repentance and so it must conclude. In some way the perpetrators of injustice must undergo a change

of mind, if justice and peace are to be achieved. Would to God this could be done by preaching (not mine, but that of a great chorus of impassioned voices from inside Israel), for I would rather see Israel on her knees in penitence than brought to her knees by force of arms. As one ancient Rabbi put it, "One chastisement [or pang] in the heart of man is better than many lashes as a means of atonement."⁸⁴ In keeping with this truth, Rabbi Hamnuna Zuti prayed:⁸⁵

Behold, I am before Thee like a vessel full of shame and reproach. May it be Thy will that I sin no more, and what I have sinned wipe away in Thy mercy, but not through suffering.

I heard an American preacher after World War II give a sermon in which he called upon the United States to repent, even though, as he said: "Never in history has a victor been known to repent." In his observation, he was largely right; but one example is given of just this happening.

In a narrative recorded in the Book of Judges, the victorious Israelites repented of their intended genocide of the Benjaminites (21:6), because "the people Israel had compassion for Benjamin *their brother*." Only the claims of kinship can explain this unusual event. The recognition of brotherhood involved the Israelites in a keen sense of wrong in having attempted to exterminate the Benjaminites. They also felt a deep sense of inadequacy and incompleteness if one of their tribes should be wiped out. What is needed today is a strong feeling of universal brotherhood and a full realization of Jew needing Arab and Arab needing Jew, if they are to find their lives fulfilled in Palestine, in a land full of justice and peace. This goal can be best achieved (and ultimately only achieved) by spiritual rather than military means. Only through a willingness to accept present suffering as the birth pangs of an emergent, democratic, de-Zionized Israel, will both Israeli and Palestinian be able to find a life consistent with the prophetic ideals of their forefathers. Through such a willing death to selfish nationalisms, they will find the only life that matters, a life that is truly "a light to the nations."

POSTSCRIPT

The Humanitarian And Democratic Goals Of The Palestinian Arab

The value of an appeal to the Jewish people to repent of Zionism may be illustrated by the effect of liberal minded Jews, with a passion for justice, upon the Palestinian national movement. Note the following which is quoted from "The Jews and the Palestinians," *Fateh*, Vol. I, No. 7 (January 1, 1970) pp. 10f. (citing here p. 11, col. 1):

The Revolution undertook serious studies of its enemy and of itself. A progressive liberation movement cannot suffer from the racism that characterizes the very enemy it is trying to conquer. Therefore, study of the history, suffering and achievements of the Jews took place. Jewish thinkers such as Buber, Ha-Am, Magnes, Rodinson, Deutcher and Menuhin were read and reread. Serious discussions with progressive Jews in Europe and America foster a new image for the Jew at large, the Jew as Zionist and the Jew as a Palestinian citizen: a human image. No supermen, monsters or pigmies, but people who were persecuted by European racist Nazis and then manipulated by European racist Zionists into Palestine and the vacation (vacating) of its people.

See also the anonymous article, "Toward a Democratic Palestine," *The Arab World* (published by the Arab Information Center, 405 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017), Vol. XVI, Nos. 5-6 (May-June, 1970), pp. 30-32:

The Palestinian Revolution has officially adopted the creation of a democratic, non-sectarian state where Christians, Jews and Moslems can live, work and worship without discrimination, as the ultimate objective of its liberation struggle. (p. 30a)

In a recent interview, *Fateh* official Iyad reasserted that not only progressive anti-Zionist Jews, but even present Zionists willing to abandon their racist ideology will be welcome as Palestinian citizens. It is the belief of the Revolution that all present Israeli Jews will change their attitudes and will subscribe to the New Palestine, once they are aware of its ideology. (p. 31a)

Palestinians living in the United Kingdom have published a journal called *Free Palestine* (B.C.M. Box 3275, London, W.C. 1), which sets forth the same ideal (Vol. 1, No. 7 [Dec., 1968], p. 1):

In our struggle against Zionism and Israel we do not aim at rendering the same treatment we received at the hands of the Zionists to the Hebrew-speaking population of Palestine. Our aim is to build a democratic progressive Palestine free from racism, religious bigotry, political oppression, and economic exploitation. This Palestinian state is feasible in the absence of chauvinism and Zionism of which the Israeli sovereignty is the crowning achievement and symbol.

An article by Basel Amin Aql, which appeared in *The Arab* (published by the Arab League Office in London), Vol. 1, Nos. 17-18 (June-July, 1968), p. 1, discusses the "Palestinian Resistance, Motives and Aims." It concludes:

It is a battle which does not only seek to reassert the essential humanity of the Palestinian Arabs, but it has the greater role of seeing Arabs and Jews live in one Palestine where neither race nor religion shall destroy the noble brotherhood of man.

None of this is entirely new; for this is what the Palestinians were talking about in their resistance to Zionism long before the creation of Israel. This was the outlook of the Palestinians I met in Palestine, in 1947, despite the fact that I also heard some Jews say, "Why don't the Arabs go back to the desert where they came from?"* It was cruel expulsion from the land which led the Palestinians in any numbers to take up in turn the cry, "Drive the Jews into the sea." Whenever I have heard any Palestinian say this, I have rebuked them sternly; and they have always explained: "We do not mean it literally; but if it is a choice between living as equals with the Arabs or setting sail for other ports, many of them will set sail." It is gratifying, in any case, that most Arabs (including the Palestinians) have abandoned the extravagant threat: "We will drive the Jews into the sea." Now the appeal is, "We want to live with the Jews as brothers and build together a democratic society."

The late Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, who grew up at Tiberias, has given the most eloquent description of all of the way to reconciliation and peace between the Israelis and Palestinian Arabs:**

Men who cannot or will not surrender to one another may be inspired to surrender together to a higher vision—and in that sur-

render find freedom and fulfillment, as well as reconciliation.

To accomplish this end, the vision must have the excellence to inspire and the power to command devotion.

As the longing for peace cannot overpower or replace craving for justice, the vision of peace must offer justice as well, or else forfeit its very credentials.

A vision of a just peace cannot be meek, overawed by current reality, proclaiming: "Whatever is, is here to stay." It must have the boldness to question and the fortitude to challenge every being, if founded on injustice. Nor can it be purely restorative, proclaiming: "Whatever was shall be fully restored: the past shall be resurrected in identical form." It must dare to deviate from the past and create a modified future.

A bold vision of a just peace must also be morally uplifting. It must inspire men to brotherhood, when exclusionism sets them apart; to compassion, when vengefulness rages; and to giving and sharing, whether of their acquisitions or their birthright, when rapaciousness or cupidity prevail.

And it must be spiritually uplifting also. It must proclaim *the primacy of the human person over the politico-juridical abstraction of statehood . . .*

If the men and women of Israel also come to see their destinies in terms of such a vision—opting for peace and justice for all, in new Palestine—the ingenuity of statecraft and diplomacy (local, regional and international) will not be incapable of devising the procedural and programmatic formulas necessary for bringing about its realization, perhaps in our day.

Whenever it comes about, however, a new and glorious day will dawn. The Holy Land will become also a land of creative brotherhood, a land of triumph over the seemingly impossible and a land of righteous peace.

If God is able to overrule man's folly for His righteous purposes, if the Almighty can thwart and redirect the wrongly-aimed passions of men (and He can do all these things), and if out of the travail of the uprooted and suffering humanity can come such a vision of peace (and it has so come)—then by the light of that vision let Jews, Arabs, and all mankind be led by the All-Merciful in the ways of light, right, and kindness. Then the *shaloms* and the *salaams* will kiss each other in a world where men:

shall beat their swords into plowshares,
and their spears into pruning-hooks;
nation shall not lift up sword against nation,

neither shall they learn war any more.
But they shall sit every man under his vine
and under his fig tree;
and none shall make them afraid.

*I was shocked to hear a Christian woman in America say the same thing, after my return from the Holy Land. Only a few Palestinian Arabs, such as Bedouins who have settled down, have ever come in from the desert. Most of the Palestinians have ancestral roots in the land that antedate by centuries (or even millenia) the Arabization of the land culturally following the seventh century Muslim conquest.

***"Palestine, Israel and Peace," *Time Bomb in the Middle East*. New York: Friendship Press, 1969, pp. 69-72. This is reprinted with documentation and updating in "Palestine Essays No. 17," Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, 1970, pp. 36, 38."

Contrast Sayegh's vision of peace with that of Abba Eban in an address given at the Special Assembly of the United Nations, June 19, 1967, printed in Walter Laqueur, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-229. The hypocrisy which robs Eban's words of any semblance of a peace offer is found in the statement: "For the first time in history, no Mediterranean nation is in subjection." Now what of Palestine, a nation recognized, at least in fragmentary form, in the original resolution creating Israel? Was not that nation now wholly "in subjection"? Apparently for Eban, as for Golda Meir, "There were no Palestinians!"

NOTES

1. I follow here the Jewish reckoning of the first two of the "Ten Words" (the Hebrew title in Ex. 34:28): (1) Ex. 20:2; (2) vs. 3-6. Beyond that point, Jewish and Protestant numbering agree.

2. The United States was not fighting for territorial expansion in the Vietnam war; and most who supported the war did so out of regard for the right of self-determination by the people of South Vietnam. Still, as in most wars, other factors may well have been at work.

3. This would certainly be true of the spiritual Zionists, such as Achad ha-'Am, Judah Magnes, and Martin Buber. Probably many political Zionists intended similarly, being unaware that the land was densely populated by other people. See Moshe Menuhin, *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time*. New York: Exposition Press, 1965, pp. 310-331 (reprinted with a timely postscript by the Institute for Palestine Studies, Ashqar Bldg., Clemenceau Street, Beirut, Lebanon, 1969).

4. J.M.N. Jeffries (*The Balfour Declaration*, Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969, Monograph No. 7) argues that the framers of the Balfour Declaration intended a distinction between "civil rights" promised the Arabs and "political rights" promised the Jews. If so, sinister intentions entered in at the very first.

5. Erich W. Bethmann, *Decisive Years in Palestine, 1918-1948*, New York: American Friends of the Middle East, 1957, p. 16. The official documentation is *Palestine, a Study of Jewish, Arab, and British Policies*, Parliamentary Papers, 1921 Cmd. 1950, Vol. I, pp. 281 f.

6. See Fayer A. Sayegh, *Zionist Colonialism in Palestine*, Palestine Monographs No. 1, Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization, 1965, p. 43: "In March 1920, armed hostilities broke out between Arab villagers and Zionist colonists in northern Palestine; and in April 1920, Arab-Zionist fighting took place in Jerusalem." The American King-Crane Commission reported in 1919 to Woodrow Wilson: "... the non-Jewish population of Palestine—nearly nine-tenths of the whole—are emphatically against the entire Zionist program There was no one thing upon which the population of Palestine was more agreed than upon this" Sayegh, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

7. So reported the objective Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, Report to the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, Lou-sanne, Switzerland, April 20, 1946. Washington: Department of State Publication 2536, Near Eastern Series 2, pp. 78 f.

8. George Ricker Berry, *Old and New in Palestine*, Hamilton, N.Y.: The Republican Press, 1939, p. 78.

9. Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Other Side of the Coin, an American Perspective of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1965, pp. 21 f. and p. 356, n. 40.

10. *Foreign Relations of the U.S. 1943: The Near East and Africa*, Washington, D.C. 1964, Vol. IV, pp. 776 f.

11. Lessing J. Rosenwald ("The Fallacies of Palestine," *Collier's*, March 13, 1948, pp. 30, 32) later wrote (on p. 32, col. 3): "Zionists in Poland freely collaborated with anti-Semitic elements of the prewar Polish government, since both aimed at the same thing—for different reasons. Both wanted Jews out of Poland."

12. For their views, see the summaries of Moshe Menuhin, *The Decadence of Judaism*

in *Our Time*, Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969. On Magnes, see pp. 91-95, 102-4, 107, 127, 310-322; on Buber, pp. 103, 368-71.

13. A similar, but not identical, scene is shown in *Life*, Jan. 19, 1948, p. 27. In that picture the sandbags are on a balcony of a house. The British soldier seen opposite members of the Haganah is "keeping a watchful eye out for" them, and not for "Arab snipers" as captioned! During the war of 1948, many church buildings were turned into forts and were subjected to millions of dollars of damage. On Israeli confiscation of church property, see *The Rising Tide of Terror*, Amman: 1952, pp. 29-33.

The tower of the Church of the Assumption was used by Israel as a fort for many years prior to 1967. The first volley by the Jordanian army from the Mount of Olives on June 5, 1967, toppled that tower.

14. Moskin, J. Robert, "Jewish Mayor of the New Jerusalem," *Look*, Oct. 1, 1968. Although the Zionists officially accepted Partition in the fall of 1947, they had made a study of every village in Palestine with a view to war and had ready their maps of every town in Palestine for possible attack. See Harry Sacher, *Israel, The Establishment of a State*, New York: British Book Center, 1952, p. 217.

15. The broadcast which I heard and took notes on included the following fifteen cities: Jerusalem, Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Nablus, *Hebron, *Bethlehem, *Ramleh-Lydd, *Tulqarem, *Gaza, Beersheba, Acre, *Nazareth, *Tiberias, *and Safad. *Those with asterisks had no Jewish dead. In Beersheba, 10 Jews were killed as against 150 Arabs. In the Jaffa-Tel Aviv area, Jewish deaths surpassed Arab deaths 170 to 90; and in Haifa they exceeded Arab fatalities 92 to 69. In Jerusalem, where for a couple of weeks Arab deaths exceeded Jewish about two to one, by the end of December they were more nearly equal, 120 Arabs killed as against 100 Jews. Naturally, such statistics do not prove which were the aggressors, except where large numbers were killed, with none of the other side slain (as in ten of the above cities).

16. On Deir Yassin, see Moshe Menuhin, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-120. Unlike the atrocious My Lai massacre by American soldiers in South Vietnam, March, 1968, Deir Yassin was not an isolated incident. Many lesser massacres, similar in brutality, preceded and followed it. Geoffrey Furlonge (*op. cit.*, p. 155) mentions another massacre at Nasir ed-Deir, near Tiberias, which occurred soon after that of Deir Yassin. On the shocking American crime, see *Time*, Dec. 5, 1969, pp. 23 f. The Americans involved underwent trial; but already the claim that orders from above were responsible is receiving too much weight, more than we were willing to grant the Germans in the war-crimes trials, where in the name of humanity we expected conscience to stand in the way of obedience to authority. See Nimr al Khatib on Zionist atrocities in *Middle East Forum*, Dec., 1960.

17. *Our Jerusalem, an American Family in the Holy City, 1881-1949*, Jerusalem: Middle East Export Press, 1950, p. 375.

18. Begin, Menachem, *The Revolt: The Story of the "Irgun"*, New York: Abelard Schumann Ltd. and London: W.H. Allen, 1951, pp. 162-165.

19. I cite here the carefully documented statistics, including decisions of the Mixed Armistice Commission, as compiled by the Jordanian Government publication, *Rising Tide of Terror*, Amman, 1952, pp. 17 f. On this period of history, see also John Bagot Glubb, *A Soldier with the Arabs*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957, pp. 299-310.

20. Burns, Eedson Louis Millard, *Between Arab and Israeli*, New York: Ivan Obolensky, 1963, p. 162.

21. According to the armistice agreement, the area was to be demilitarized, being policed locally; but the Israeli army flouted this, while the Zionists under Moshe Dayan (as Minister of Agriculture) engaged in "aggressive plowing," which increasingly took over

Arab lands. See Burns, *op. cit.*, Chap. 8, pp. 107-118; Sami Hadawi, *Bitter Harvest, Palestine 1914-67*, New York: New World Press, pp. 299-310; Farouk A. Kawlawi, *The Syrian-Israeli Border Confrontation*, San Francisco: Arab League Office, World Trade Center, May, 1967, pp. 2-4.

22. Cf. *Life*, April 5, 1968, p. 4: "The Israelis justify their overreaction by quoting the Bible, but as C. L. Sulzberger points out, they have amended it to two eyes for an eye. Moshe Dayan claims: 'We have no choice . . . if we don't want to lose . . . military and political positions we acquired in the Six-Day war.' " In contrast, cf. the nobler attitude of Yuval Weinstein (a 12th grade highschool boy) whose letter, "Mercy for el Fatah," was published by *The Jerusalem Post* in its *Week-end Magazine*, June 7, 1968, p. 19. He opposes on both humanitarian and prudential grounds the killing of all el-Fateh infiltrators.

23. On the Egyptian mission of peace, see "How Did the War Begin?" *The Middle East Newsletter* (published by Americans for Justice in the Middle East, P.O.B. 4841, Beirut, Lebanon), Vol. I, No. 1 (September, 1967), pp. 1-3, and Vol. I, No. 2 (October, 1967), pp. 4 f. On the whole sequence of events and the aftermath, see the carefully documented study of Howard Koch, Jr., *Six Hundred Days, a Reappraisal of the Arab-Israeli Confrontation since June, 1967*, a Memorial issued by the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, March, 1969.

24. Although the Negev had been assigned to Israel under the Partition Plan, Israel actually acquired it by violations of a UN ordered truce of July 15, 1948, and of an armistice signed with Egypt, Feb. 24, 1949. On Oct. 14, 1948, Israel took Beersheba and the el-Auja area and ignored UN orders to withdraw as of Oct. 19 and Nov. 4. According to the Armistice Agreement, Israel was to receive only the northern half of the Negev; but on March 10, 1949, Israel launched an attack which took her all the way to the Gulf of Aqaba. See Hadawi, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-151.

25. On the USS Liberty, see George W. Robnett, *Conquest through Immigration, How Zionism Turned Palestine into a Jewish State*, Pasadena, California, Box 2097-D, 1968, pp. 299-302. Israel's belated explanation given in the *United States News and World Report*, May 13, 1968, p. 12, is too farfetched to be credible, contradicting as it does many known facts.

26. See Moshe Menuhin, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-172, 199-206.

27. [Johnson's guarantee of territorial integrity of all.] On May 23, 1967, President Johnson pledged: "To the leaders of all the nations of the Near East, I wish to say what three American Presidents have said before me—that the United States is firmly committed to the support of the political independence and territorial integrity of all the nations of that area. The United States strongly opposes aggression by anyone in the area, in any form, overt and clandestine." We have been fighting Vietnam in order to prove that American word can be counted on; but in the Middle East we have winked at clandestine aggression.

28. "The Refugees: Seeds of Trouble," *Newsweek*, June 26, 1967, pp. 23-24.

29. In December, 1947, a Jewish District Officer was questioned by a British Officer in the Arab Legion as to whether Israel would have many internal troubles in view of a large Arab population. The Jewish Officer (his tongue loosened through drink) replied: "Oh, no! That will be fixed. A few calculated massacres will soon get rid of them!" See J.B. Glubb, *op. cit.*, p. 81. Later on, Menachem Begin boasted that the massacre of Deir Yassin had done just this! See Menuhin, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

30. McDonald, James Grover, *My Mission to Israel, 1948-1951*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1951, p. 176. This quotation seems to reveal the real Weizmann, rather than the man ashamed of Zionist murders before the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. See his autobiography, *Trial and Error*, New York: Harper & Row, 1959, pp. 453 f.

31. This is reported also by Millar Burrows himself in *Palestine is Our Business*, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1949, p. 52.

32. I.F. Stone, *This is Israel*, New York: Boni & Gaer, 1948, pp. 26-27.

33. Folke Bernadotte, *To Jerusalem* (translated from the Swedish by Joan Bulman), London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951, pp. 189 f. Cf. Moshe Menuhin, "A Tribute to Count Folke Bernadotte," *The Arab World*, XIV, No. 9 (Sept., 1968), pp. 4-10; also, "The Diary of Count Folke Bernadotte," *op. cit.*, XV, Nos. 3-4 (March-April, 1969), pp. 13-14.

34. *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

35. *Op. cit.*, p. 210.

36. This is the U.N. Resolution 194, Dec. 11, 1948.

37. Israel specified that those allowed to return should not return to their own property, but be settled in certain restricted areas. "The Conciliation Commission," says A.M. Lilienthal, *The Other Side of the Coin*, p. 240, "considered this qualification unsatisfactory, and the offer was later withdrawn."

38. Cf. Golda Meir's statement (*Sunday Times*, London, June 15, 1969): "There was no such thing as Palestinians. When was there an independent Palestinian people with a Palestinian State? It was either southern Syria before the first world war, and then it was a Palestine including Jordan. It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." In other words, Israel threw out Arabs (not Palestinians) and they should be content to be simply Arabs scattered over the face of the earth. However, the Palestinians as indigenous people had the right to determine for themselves by plebiscite whether or not they were Palestinians. Would the Zionists have dared to give them a plebiscite on this issue in 1920, let alone in 1947?

See the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, *Report*, p. 68, which states that "Even before the Palestine Mandate went into effect it had become evident that the Arab leaders in Palestine were not prepared readily to acquiesce in the creation of a Jewish National Home. Arab independence was their demand." Since the Palestinian Arabs were never give the ballot, and have been repeatedly foiled in their appeal to Great Britain and to the world community, what other resort was open to them, if they were to defend their cause, but the bullet? Yet they were by and large a peaceful people.

For an Israeli reply to the contention of Y. Galili, "We do not consider the Arabs of the land an ethnic group nor a people with a distinctive nationalistic character," see the lengthy open letter of Jacob Talmon, which was first published in Hebrew in *Ma'ariv*, May, 1969, and translated into English in *The Arab World*, XV, No. 9 (Sept., 1969), pp. 3-7.

39. For the events in Jerusalem, see the report of Rouhi el-Khatib, the deported Mayor of Jerusalem, Jordan, which he gave before the Security Council of the U.N., May 3, 1968. A copy of his documented report, *Jerusalem, Israeli Annexation*, may be obtained from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Amman. See also the information given by Miss Ruth Wilson (an American social worker in Jerusalem) in an interview, "From Jerusalem," *Middle East Newsletter*, II, No. 1 (Jan., 1968), pp. 4-6. For Israel's widespread policy of evictions, including the destruction of three Arab villages, see Father Paul Gauthier and Sister Marie-Therese, *Jerusalem and the Blood of the Poor, 5th-8th June 1967*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, [1968]. This was first published at Paris, in *Les Cahiers du Temoignage Chretien*, 49 Fauberg Poissonniere, 5 October 1967, p. 47.

40. According to *Time*, Feb. 7, 1969, p. 24, Israel's cabinet had recently agreed to establish twenty paramilitary settlements in the West Bank (three having already been built). See "Israel Steps up 'Creeping Annexation,'" *Fateh*, II, 12 (Aug. 5., 1970), p. 5. [Editor's note: The number of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is now over 120, and constitutes a major international problem.]

41. On the various legal methods of confiscation inside Israel, see Sabri Jiryis, *The Arabs*

in *Israel* (translated by Meric Dobson), Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1968. This book was first published in Hebrew at Haifa, in 1966; but Israel suppressed it. See also the articles by the same title in *Middle East Newsletter*, II, 1 (Jan., 1968), pp. 7 f.; II, 9 (Nov., 1968), pp. 1-4.

42. I met several families in the West Bank in the summer of 1968 whose college sons and daughters had not been allowed home. During the first year after the Six Day War, youths were not permitted to leave for college without signing a statement forfeiting the right to return. This last rule was later relaxed. Some Arab students also who were abroad at the time of the war have been permitted visits of up to four weeks to the West Bank, but they are not allowed to make their home there.

43. Two Israeli newspapers, *Yediot Aharonot* and *Ha'aretz*, on October 25, 1972 quoted Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir as saying that "the thought of all the Arab babies who were being born at the moment" prevented her from sleeping some nights.

44. For example, in an interview with Eric Rouleau, correspondent of *Le Monde*, on February 19, 1970, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel-Nasser stated that "it will be possible to institute a durable peace between Israel and the Arab states, not excluding economic and diplomatic relations, if Israel evacuates the occupied territories and accepts a settlement of the problem of the Palestinian refugees."

45. This is reported in the *Rising Tide of Terror*, *op. cit.*, pp. 8f and in the *Jerusalem Post*, January 4, 1952, p. 7: "Murder, rape and robbery in Israel have taken on alarming proportions."

46. *Fateh*, Vol. II, No. 10 (June 25, 1970), p. 12. This bimonthly organ of the Palestine National Liberation Movement (P.O. Box 5427, Beirut, Lebanon) is a much fuller and more accurate source of information on many matters than the Zionist *Jerusalem Post*.

47. See in this regard, Lieutenant-General E. L. M. Burns, *op. cit.*, and Major General Carl von Horn, *Soldiering for Peace*, New York: David McKay Co., 1967. Speaking of members of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, von Horn states: "Nearly all of them had arrived with the honest intention to help both parties to the Armistice Agreement, but with a conscious sympathy for the people of 'poor little Israel.' Yet, after two or three years in daily contact with officials, soldiers, and private individuals on both sides, there had been a remarkable change in their attitude. I found it sad but very significant that when I asked them what their most negative experiences had been during their service with UNTSO the reply was almost invariably: 'The consistent cheating and deception of the Israelis.' " If in defence of Israel it be said, "Words are weapons too!" then one must reply that words are not a legitimate weapon unless they are true and just, nor are bombs a legitimate weapon either unless the cause is just and every possible effort is exerted to safeguard the lives of innocent people. Even so, often one must ask, "Would it not be better to suffer this wrong?"

48. On this massacre of April 13, see Menuhin in *The Arab World*, Sept. 1968, p. 5, col. 3; Vester, *op. cit.*, pp. 375 f.

49. Ben Gurion, *op. cit.*, pp. 291 f. The commonly spread report that the Arab generals had ordered the Palestinian Arabs to evacuate with the promise of later returning with the victorious armies is so natural and plausible that it has been widely disseminated.

Even if some truth were in this, this would be no just basis for not allowing the people to return after the war. However, the charge is largely false as has been proven by Erskine Childers, "The Other Exodus," *The Spectator*, May 12, 1961, pp. 672-675—an article which was strengthened by the concessions made by the Zionists who debated him in subsequent issues. The original article is reprinted by Walter Laquer (editor), *The Israel-Arab Reader*, New York, Toronto, London: Bantam Books, 1969, document 34, pp.

143-151, but without the subsequent debate which reveals how weak indeed are the arguments of Abba Eban before the United Nations in 1958 (published by Laquer, *op. cit.*, Document 35, pp. 151-164).

50. These figures are based upon an estimate of a total of 1,400,000 Arabs as compared with 710,000 Jews (10,000 of whom lived in areas of Palestine not under consideration here). The estimated number of Arabs (counting all Arabic speaking non-Jews) inside Israel would have been about 1,050,000 had they all been allowed to remain; but about 885,000 were driven out, leaving about 165,000 inside Israel. The latest official census, discounted by both sides as too low for 1947, was 650,000 Jews as compared with 1,300,000 Arabs. Tens of thousands of Arabs who were able to rehabilitate themselves in cities such as Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Nablus, and Amman never were registered as refugees. John Davis, Commissioner General of UNRWA, wrote that "in December 1949, the United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East reported that an estimated 726,000 Palestinians, who had fled their homes during the 1948 conflict, were now refugees because their return home was being blocked by Israel. Of these 652,000 were in need." John H. Davis, *The Evasive Peace*, London: John Murray, 1968, p. 53. Davis cites UN Document A/AC.25/6 Part 1, page 22.

51. For the Sinai expedition, see W. F. Albright, "Exploring Sinai with the University of California Africa Expedition," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 109, Feb., 1948, pp. 5-20.

52. For the total picture, see Sabri Jiryis, *op. cit.*, also *The Rising Tide of Terror*, *op. cit.* pp. 19-23.

53. Thousands of acres in the Jordan Valley were made productive by the sinking of wells by Musa Alami and his emulators, despite the previous official opinion that it would be impossible to find sweet water here. See Sir Geoffrey Furlonge, *Palestine is My Country, the Story of Musa Alami*, New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1969, Chap. 12, pp. 167-186. After the Israeli conquest, the new paramilitary agricultural colony of Kallia established by Israel made two borings which yielded only salty water, and then they turned to the spring of Wadi Kelt. See *Time*, Feb. 28, 1969, p. 34. Prior to the Israeli conquest this spring provided drinking water and irrigation for small gardens for tens of thousands of Arab refugees living near the entrance to Wadi Kelt. Now that these people were gone and could not return, Israel had another use for it.

54. Lamentable is the king's disregard for the place as an antiquities site, containing remains of the ancient fortress of King Saul at Gibeah (modern Tell el-Ful). Though building was delayed in order to allow for a final archaeological excavation, Saul's fortress would have made an interesting museum room beneath the palace, if it had not been destroyed.

55. Cf. *Time*, Nov. 25, 1966.

56. So obvious were Israeli intentions to keen observers before June 5, 1967, that they were predictable. Norman Sklarewitz (*National Observer*, June 5, 1967, p. 12) wrote in advance of the war: " 'Nasser could beat us without firing a shot,' admits an Israeli official. But he adds warningly, 'We don't plan to let it happen.' What is obviously implied by this commonly heard remark is a national feeling that Israel shouldn't wait for Egypt or Syria to attack but should carry the fight to the enemy first."

See also Howard Koch, *Six Hundred Days: A Reappraisal of the Arab-Israeli Confrontation since June 1967*. New York: Memorial issued by the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, 1969.

57. For the Soviet Union's connection with the Middle East Crisis, see John Glubb, *The Middle East Crisis, a Personal Interpretation*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1967.

Actually, the only victor in the 1967 war was the Soviet Union. Israel staggers under much heavier burdens of military defence and of military occupation. The Arabs have suffered militarily and financially (through the closure of the Suez Canal and through the continuing war of attrition). The Arabs suffered about 250,000 refugees from the West Bank of the Jordan alone. If one adds to these refugees from the Gaza Strip, from Israeli occupied Syrian territory, and from Sinai, there were upwards of half a million refugees of the 1967 war. In addition to these, about 750,000 have had to be evacuated east of the Jordan and west of the Suez. The communist nations and organizations of the world, however, have taken advantage of the situation to present themselves as the only champions of the oppressed in the Middle East. What a pity that the western nations have so widely sided with the oppressor!

58. [A Special Correspondent of *The Economist*, December 9, 1967, described an attack on Karameh refugee camp in Jordan on November 20. "Children coming out of school were caught in the splintering fire of Israeli mortars. These were aimed with a deadly precision . . . The death toll of children and adults was higher than at Samu, the Jordanian West Bank village that took the rap last year for Syrian-inspired attacks on Israel." Four months later, the Israelis launched a co-ordinated land and air attack on Karameh. In August 1968, twenty three civilians were killed during an Israeli air attack on the Jordanian town of Salt. The fertile Jordan Valley was virtually depopulated between 1967-1970 due to frequent Israeli air and mortar attacks. — ed.]

59. On the British Broadcasting Company Television program "Panorama" on Jan. 13, 1969, Moshe Dayan said of the Arab commandos: "I don't know of any other case where the terrorists are fighting civilians and only civilians." (The interview was published in *The Jerusalem Post*, Jan. 17, 1969, *Middle East Newsletter*, III, 3 (April, 1969), pp. 10 f. [Baruch Leshem, a journalist for the Israeli weekly *Anashim*, reported that 285 Israeli soldiers had been killed in campaigns against the PLO between 1967-1982. Quoted by B. Michael, *Ha'Aretz*, July 16, 1982. — ed.]

60. In the transcript of a television discussion telecast in Israel, Shmuel Tamir contrasts the supposed humanitarianism of the Zionist Irgun with the Arab el Fatah, saying: "Very miserable incidents occurred, which we regretted and which we did our utmost to prevent. But these incidents were the exception, while with El Fatah they are the rule." (The "parley" is reported fully in *Israel Magazine*, I, 8, 1968, with the quotation from p. 71. This charge is false; the reverse is true. Alas, however, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (a small Marxist organization) does resemble the Irgun Zvai Leumi in its ruthlessness. See Oriana Fallaci, "A Leader of the Fedayeen: 'We want a war like the Vietnam War,'" *Life*, Vol. 68, No. 22 (June 12, 1970), pp. 32-34. On the flight of the Arabs from Ramle and Lydda, July, 1948, see also Furlonge, *op. cit.*, pp. 155 f.; David Cairns in his reply to Erskine Childers in *The Spectator*, June 30, 1961, pp. 949-50., admits "as late as July, 1948, Dayan's shock tactics for persuading the inhabitants of Lydda to leave and not return."

61. I was then living in Jerusalem, and any rare examples of conciliatory words or statements, broadcast or printed, sounded hypocritical. In any case they were futile, as long as the Irgun and Haganah were dispossessing innocent people. Cf. the case reported by Christopher S. Wren in *Look*, May 13, 1969, p. 36c concerning a Palestinian who related: "In 1948, our Jewish neighbors told us, 'Do not leave your homes. Stay here.' But when the Haganah came to drive us out, they could not protect us. Our neighbors wept, but they could not protect us."

62. [Middle East Correspondent David Hirst, of *The Guardian*, describes one instance of 'alternative accommodating,' in his book *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, London: Faber & Faber, 1977, reprinted by Futura Publications, 1983, pp. 236-237. Hirst writes, "[Israeli]

officials told me brightly about the new housing estate at Wadi Joz . . . Perhaps, after all, I would find clinking rebuttal of Arab complaints . . . What I found was twenty-eight diminutive apartments. Twenty-six of them were shuttered and bolted. Only two were occupied. Salim Namani, the first to move in to one of the two, told me his history. 'I used to live in the Jewish quarter. They knocked down so much of my house I was all but living in the open air. I refused to move till I found another house. I couldn't find one. So they offered me one at Wadi Joz. First they said they wanted £1,500 down payment, then £2,300 . . . It is going to cost me £7,000 all told. It took me twenty months to get here . . . The Israelis never lose a chance to make propaganda. They had the nerve at the end of it to hold a ceremony on my account . . . I had certain advantages. I speak fluent Hebrew. My wife is Jewish. I have a lawyer friend in Tel Aviv. Imagine what it's like for the others.'

63. See Paul Gauthier and Marie-Therese, *op. cit.*; also Michael Adams, "Zeita—Beit Nuba—Yalu, How the Israelis have Erased Them from the Holy Land," *Middle East Newsletter*, II, 7 (Aug.-Sept., 1968), pp. 1 f. This first appeared in *The [London] Sunday Times*, June 16, 1968, pp. 1 f.

64. See above, page 43.

65. "I. F. Stone Reconsiders Zionism," *Midstream*, Oct., 1967, pp. 3-17. This is reprinted by Walter Laquer, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-341, the citation of King Hussein appearing on p. 6 of the former and on p. 322 of the latter.

66. On an explanation for this falsification, see Uri Avnery, *Israel Without Zionists, a Plea for Peace in the Middle East*, New York, London, Toronto: Macmillan, 1968, p. 26: "The Egyptians thought that by such a pronouncement they would for the time being deter Israeli ships from trying to force a passage and relieve themselves of the necessity of shooting at the ships; thus the Egyptians hoped to avert the war." Actually, it gave the Israeli government the excuse it wanted for its new war of conquest. Avnery's title for this chapter, "The War Nobody Wanted," was not true of Israel; for since the fall of 1966 she had been busy building up the crisis.

67. In a letter to *Los Gatos Times*, Aug. 31, 1967. Thank God, however, that there are many knees both inside Israel and outside it which have not yet bowed to Baal!

68. This is the translation of Michael Selzer, *Israel a Factor in Jewish-Gentile Relations in America*, New York: American Council for Judaism, 201 East 57th St., N.Y., pp. 16 f.

69. Babia Metzia ii, 5. 8c. A freer translation appears in C. K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents*, London: S.P.C.K., 1961, p. 150.

70. Solomon Zeitlan, "Is a Revival of a Sanhedrin in Israel Necessary for Modification of the Halakah?" *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1954, pp. 86 f.

71. Philo on the oath, *The Decalogue*, Chapter 17, para. 86, translation of F.H. Colson, *Philo*, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. VII, p. 86.

72. *Palestine: A Bi-National State*, New York: Ihud (Union) Association of Palestine, August 1946. Most of this slim volume contains the written statement of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Jerusalem, submitted on March 5, 1946, and oral testimony of Martin Buber, Judah L. Magnes, and Moses Smilansky, which was given on March 16, 1946. Magnes wrote in the preface to this book that *Ihud* "holds that Palestine should be a bi-national country with Jews and Arabs as equal nationalities, and that Palestine would be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state."

73. William F. Stinespring has argued that Isa. 11:14 was adequately fulfilled in Maccabean times in his "Introduction" to *Israel according to Holy Scriptures* (with contributions by L. Humphrey Walz, Alfred Guillaume, Elmer Berger, Frank Staggs, Ovid R. Sellers, and Jonathan G. Sherman). This has been republished at Beirut by the Institute for Palestine Studies under the title, *Palestine and the Bible*. Stinespring writes: "No more heinous distortion of the Bible could be imagined than using it to justify the expulsion from their homes and lands of modern Palestinians, whether Christian or Moslem, by equating them

with ancient Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites."

See also Elmer Berger, *Prophecy, Zionism, and the State of Israel*, an address delivered at the University of Leiden, March 20, 1968. Published and distributed by American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, 133 East 73 Street, Suite 404, New York, New York 10021.

74. Note the statement of Dr. David Lieber, University of Judaism, Los Angeles, in the *Christian Century*, Sept. 20, 1967, p. 1189a: "To ask Jews to give up Palestine is to ask them to cease to be Jews. Therefore an independent Jewish nation must exist in Palestine, and no other consideration can be allowed to interfere with this requirement." Does "no other consideration" exclude recognition of the inalienable rights of the former majority population? Does it likewise exclude a faithful pursuit of the ethical teaching of the Hebrew prophets? Probably Dr. Lieber never thought of this; but in practice the establishment of Israel has meant just that! Have not the opportunistic, ruthless, expansionist policies of Israel called into question whether Israel has not already from an ethical point of view ceased to be Jewish?

75. Although Christians generally take this as the preface of the Ten Commandments, they do not thereby minimize its importance. Thus two questions and answers are devoted to it in the seventeenth century Westminster Shorter Catechism (nos. 43-44). The longest statement is that of the Larger Catechism, no. 101: "Question: What is the preface to the ten commandments. Answer: The preface to the ten commandments is contained in these words, *I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage*—wherein God manifesteth his sovereignty, as being JEHOVAH, the eternal, immutable, and almighty God; having his being in and of himself, and giving being to all his words and works: and that *he is a God in covenant*, as with Israel of old, so with all his people; who, as he brought them out of bondage in Egypt, so he delivered us from our spiritual thralldom; and that therefore we are bound to take him for our God alone, and to keep all his commandments." The stress here on the covenant purpose is supported by modern scholarship.

76. See Judges 2:11-3:6; 10:6-16; I Samuel 15; cf. Deuteronomy 7:1-11; 20:10-18.

77. See note 68.

78. See George F. Hourani, "Palestine as a Problem of Ethics," *The Arab World*, vol. XV, nos. 3-4 (March-April, 1969), pp. 3-7; Ray C. Cleveland, "Theory of Population Exchange in Palestine," *The Arab World*, same issue, pp. 10-12.

79. On the massacre of Kafr Kassim, see Sabri Jiryis, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-118; Menuhin, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-192; Sami Hadawi, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-211.

80. The article by E. C. Hodgkin, "Grim Reports of Repression in Israel-occupied Lands," *The [London] Times*, Oct. 28, 1969, created such violent reaction against the publishers that *The Times* published a defence on Nov. 1, 1969, that concluded: "The wrongs of the Jews cry out to heaven, but they do not cry so loud that the wrongs of the Arabs need not be heard." See *The Middle East Newsletter*, III, 7-8 (Nov.-Dec., 1969), pp. 2-6.

81. *The Jerusalem Post*, June 7, 1968, p. 4.

82. Facts serve to indicate that Arabs are not treated as first class citizens in Israel. Even if all "intransigent Arabs" were forced out and the rest benefited from a policy of paternalism, this tokenism would not represent the dignity of free people with the right of self-determination.

83. On the cite, see Robert J. Bull, "The Excavation of Tell er-Ras on Mt. Gerizim," *Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2 (May, 1968), pp. 58-72.

84. Rabbi Johanan, *Berachoth*, 7a.

85. Rabbi Hamuna Zuti, *Berachoth*, 17a.

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